The Nation

May 4, 1992 $2.25 U.S./$2.75 Canada

UPSALA COLLEGE LIBR
PERIOD ACQUIS
EAST ORANGE NJ 07019
NA0000315467L 83 14DEC92
***********3-DIGIT 070

THE NEW ALLIANCE PARTY

Doctor Fulani's Traveling Snake-Oil Show

BRUCE SHAPIRO

On the frontier of politics, psychology and accounting. (Page 585)

EDITORIAL

DEDUCTIBLE DEMOCRACY

"The decayed condition of American democracy is difficult to grasp, not because the facts are secret, but because the facts are visible everywhere," writes William Greider in his valuable new book, *Who Will Tell the People*. The facts were plain on April 13, the day President George Bush moved to enforce a 1988 Supreme Court decision prohibiting unions from using dues collected from nonmembers for political activities.

Bush claimed his belated action was in defense of "the political rights of American workers," but obviously he was playing for points with his business base. He has no problem with letting taxpayers subsidize corporate spending on politicking to the tune of billions a year. Meanwhile Lynn Williams of the United Steelworkers complained that Bush's move implied unions were not "as democratic as, obviously, we are." This was on the same day that the A.F.L.-C.I.O. leadership announced its intention to endorse Bill Clinton, a right-to-work, pro-fast-track governor from a state with a bad worker-safety record. How this advanced the interests of millions of dues-paying unionists wasn't explained.

Greider argues for a whole new approach: Give every taxpayer a $100 tax credit for contributions toward political activity, paid for by curtailing tax breaks for corporate lobbying. "Giving individual citizens the capacity to deploy political money . . . would inevitably shift power away from existing structures and disperse it among the ordinary millions who now feel excluded."

AS EUROPE TURNS
DANIEL SINGER

POWER STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA
TATYANA VOROZHEIKINA

RICHARD HOFSTADTER
ERIC FONER

TROMPE L'OEIL
ARTHUR C. DANTO

18
08585
0 377536 3

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

'MORBID WHITE LIBERALISM'

New York City

The April 13 exchange between Larry Agran and Andrew Kopkind brings a critical issue into focus. Kopkind criticizes Agran's Democratic Party presidential bid on the ground that Agran did not build a coalition of progressive activists and organizations to back his bid, and he lauds Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 search for "common ground" with a broad cross section of the progressive movement.

But Kopkind is entirely disingenuous. Because his pseudo-analysis knowingly discounts one very central element: that the progressive movement has been virtually instructed by Jesse Jackson not to coalesce behind any insurgent candidate because he is trying to position himself as a Democratic Party power broker who can attract votes at will to the "major" candidate of his choice (*a k a* Jerry Brown). Jesse and his Rainbow cum Democratic Party campaign committee are relegated to this ineffective role because the Jackson-led progressive wing of the Democratic Party—of which Kopkind is so enamored—was buried alive these past four years in the intraparty fight with the antiprogressive Democratic Leadership Council and its major spokesperson, Bill Clinton.

In contrast, Larry Agran, who has remained true to his grass-roots and insurgent ideals, has run a dignified and substantive campaign but had no chance to effect the kind of coalition Kopkind touts, because Jesse simply won't allow it. And Kopkind knows it. Agran's only hope of impacting was to go directly to the African-American community, which is why he came to me.

The Nation's (and *The Village Voice*'s) rejection of Agran is, of course, primarily due to his association with the New Alliance Party. (At least the *Voice* is honest enough to say so.) It is still another example of the morbid white liberalism that dominates U.S. progressivism. After all, if Larry Agran can't spruce up the NAP (in the eyes of the social democrats) then how could he possibly clean up America and be President? *Lenora B. Fulani*
New Alliance Party

KOPKIND REPLIES

New York City

I was not aware that the New Alliance Party is a legitimate progressive political force. If Larry Agran's only hope of "impacting" the African-American community was to go to Dr. Fulani, he's in worse trouble than I thought. *Andrew Kopkind*

PORN AGAIN

New York City

To follow up her November 18 "Reading Around" column, in which the "Live Sex Acts" issue of *The Portable Lower East Side* (*PLES*) gets dismissed as low-life literature, in the March 16 *Nation* Elizabeth Pochoda gets to rewrite the highlights of her previous critique.

Her first words in her second column are: "Kurt Hollander, editor of *The Portable Lower East Side*, has written in to suggest that I am partly responsible for the firing of N.E.A. chief John Frohnmayer." I would hardly credit Pochoda with such inflated importance. What I actually said was: "Oddly enough, it might very well have been *The Nation* that started it all," which is to say, alerted certain conservative media watchdogs about *PLES*. I said this because Pochoda's quick summary of our "Live Sex Acts" issue contains the line "pointlessly raunchy photographs—all funded in part by the National Endowment for the Arts. . . ." To my mind, the dash's only function is to link "raunchy" art with its funding source (which Pochoda obviously wishes to see slashed), though it also serves to link her reaction to that of reactionaries.

The reason I wrote the letter was that *PLES* had just been accused by ultraconservatives of being "obscene" and "blasphemous," which to my mind changed the whole context of the discussion. (In fact, since then, the N.E.A. has denied funding this issue, citing a bureaucratic oversight on our part.) Thus I wrote: "*The Nation* is usually more subtle in its cultural analysis, and has a tendency to oppose conservative, repressive policies. If this still holds true, I would be quite pleased to see some response to the controversy surrounding Frohnmayer's forced resignation and the attacks on *PLES*."

Instead of addressing the new context (in which *PLES*'s future funding has been threatened by the direct mail campaigns of some very powerful conservative groups), Pochoda offers an offensive defense, and performs miracles paraphrasing herself: "pointlessly raunchy" in her first column becomes "pointless" in her revised version, while the statement "pigheaded people like that . . . encourage believers in the overwhelming cultural significance of *porn*" (I add the italics as an attempt to pin down her slippery slur on my journal) becomes "people who try to suppress such stuff only encourage the foolish." I'm glad to see that I've been vindicated from being a publisher of porn in the first instance to being merely a foolish person.

In her second column, although she tries to extricate herself from my charge of "equating" (her quotes) "Live Sex Acts" with porn, Pochoda nonetheless goes on to call the issue "lurid," and opines that I myself "think [the lurid] above criticism." Is lurid the same as obscene? Judging from Pochoda's equal distaste for them both, they seem to be. And as to her remark that she is "not sure there's much to choose between them," meaning Bush's and my own thoughts about "the lurid," I can only reply that there seems to be absolutely no difference between her criticisms of "the lurid" and the American Family Association's vilification of "the obscene."

Just as the conservative groups managed to keep the whole analysis of *PLES* to just a few lines of text, Pochoda's listing of the contents of "Live Sex Acts" left some things out, too, or else K.O.'d them with a "pointlessly raunchy" backhand. This specific remark of hers refers to two photographs by Nan Goldin, whose work has gained enough of an international reputation to deserve something better than disdain. And what about the pieces by Larry Mitchell, Adrienne Tien, Manuel Ramos Otero, Herbert Huncke, Veronica Vera? These are people who do not indulge in the merely "lurid," and their writing cannot be dismissed by Pochoda's "nothing remarkable or illuminating. Nothing objectionable either." And what about the statistics supplied on prostitution in the United States, the cutting critique of porn films by a dedicated viewer, the candid interviews by porn stars, the transcripts of phone-sex recordings that reveal in writing what most people have never listened to before? Is the serious discussion of porn itself porn? And what about Queer City and the attacks against it for being "blasphemous" and "obscene"? Something strange is going on when the American Family Association pays more attention to *PLES* than does *The Nation*, and even stranger still when these two institutions agree.

It's quite upsetting to watch the nine years and fourteen issues of my magazine get squeezed into a mere six lines of sensationalized info-byte, to see ultraconservatives have a field day labeling me the editor of "obscenity" and "blasphemy" on the front page of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, to stand by as what amounts to a very sizable portion of the budget for the magazine (though only .003 percent of the N.E.A.'s budget) is hacked away at by conservatives, while Pochoda can only come up with a regurgitated, though no less bilious, attack on my magazine and a distorted defense of her own opinions. Is it really *The Nation*'s style to add insult to injury? *Kurt Hollander*

POCHODA REPLIES

New York City

I wish Kurt Hollander understood the difference between subordinating and coordinating conjunctions. I did not say that the "Live Sex Acts" issue was bad because it was raunchy. I said it was raunchy, and it's bad.
Elizabeth Pochoda

CLARIFICATIONS

The Power in Our Hands (Monthly Review Press), in Hannah Finan Roditi's "High Schools for Docile Workers" [March 16], is by William Bigelow and Norman Diamond.

The Greens/Green Party U.S.A.'s new address ["Letters," April 6] is Box 30208, Kansas City, MO 64112. (816) 931-9366.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 254, Number 17

LETTERS
578

EDITORIALS
577 Deductible Democracy
579 Waiting for Perot
580 As Europe Turns — *Daniel Singer*
581 Anger and Angst — *Norman Birnbaum*

COLUMNS
581 Comforting Thoughts for Bush Campaign Re Clinton-Like Questions — *Calvin Trillin*
582 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
584 Beltway Bandits — *David Corn*

ARTICLES
585 The New Alliance Party: Dr. Fulani's Snake-Oil Show — *Bruce Shapiro*
594 Power Struggle in Russia: Why Not Try Democracy? — *Tatyana Vorozheikina*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
597 The Education of Richard Hofstadter — *Eric Foner*
603 Art — *Arthur C. Danto*
604 Faded Kodachrome (poem) — *Randy Blasing*
606 100 B.C. (poem) — *Henri Cole*

Illustrations by Lee Edward Wolf

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors*, Andrew Kopkind, Katha Pollitt; *Assistant Editor*, Micah L. Sifry; *Literary Editor*, Elsa Dixler; *Associate Literary Editor*, Art Winslow; *Poetry Editor*, Grace Schulman; *Managing Editor*, JoAnn Wypijewski; *Copy Chief*, Roane Carey; *Copy Editor*, Judith Long; *Assistant Copy Editor*, Anne-Marie Otey; *Assistant to the Editor*, Dennis Selby; *Interns*, Lucas Dreamer, Adam Freedman (*Washington*), Bryce Hoffman, Will Murphy, Elizabeth Seay, Abigail Severance, Erika Shore, Paul Webster.

Departments: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance*, Mindy Aloff; *Fiction*, John Leonard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Lingo*, Jim Quinn; *Music*, David Hamilton, Edward W. Said, Gene Santoro; *Theater*, Thomas M. Disch, Moira Hodgson; *Bureaus*: *Washington*, David Corn (on leave); *Europe*, Daniel Singer; *United Kingdom*, E.P. Thompson; *Paris*, Claude Bourdet; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors*: Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Christopher Hitchens (*Minority Report*), Aryeh Neier (*Watching Rights*), Elizabeth Pochoda (*Reading Around*), Edward Sorel, Calvin Trillin; *Contributing Editors*: Kai Bird, George Black, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, Jefferson Morley, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Michael Thomas, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener; *Editorial Board*: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Neil Postman, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins. *Editors at Large*, Richard Pollak, Katrina vanden Heuvel.

Manuscripts: Address to "The Editor." Not responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by addressed, stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Arthur L. Carter

President, Neil Black; *Advertising Director*, Ellen Jarvis; *Classified Advertising Director*, Gary Pomerantz; *Business Manager*, Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeepers*, Ivor A. Richardson, Shirleathia Watson; *Art/Production Manager*, Jane Sharples; *Production*, Carlos Durazo, Sandy McCroskey; *Circulation Director*, Elizabeth Brown, *Manager*, Cookee V. Klein; *Receptionists*, Greta Loell, Vivette Dhanukdhari; *Data Entry/Mail Coordinator*, John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary*, Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates Coordinators*, Peter Rothberg, Peter Siskind; *Permissions/Syndication*, Josh Neufeld; *Publicity*, Andrew L. Shapiro; *Assistant to the President*, Patricia Connelly; *Advertising Consultant*, Chris Calhoun.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by The Nation Company, Inc.

© 1992 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

(212) 242-8400. *Washington Bureau:* Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763, or call 1-800-533-8536. *Subscription Price*: 1 year, $44; 2 years, $75. Add $18 for surface mail postage outside U.S. Missed issues must be claimed within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publication date. **Please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($5 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The Nation*, P.O. Box 10763, Des Moines IA 50340-0763. This issue went to press on April 16.

EDITORIALS.

Waiting for Perot

As Bill Clinton's negatives soar and George Bush's positives vanish, an H. Ross Perot campaign for President looks increasingly likely. The Perot phenomenon thrives in an atmosphere of mistrust and misgivings. Since no one can say what the Texas billionaire actually stands *for*, his popularity must consist of what he stands *against*. Perot has no policy papers, no coherent programs or proposals, and certainly no party platform to which he can refer when he's stumped for an answer. Reporters who ask his office for a statement of his views on the issues of the day get a suggestion to call back later or a citation of one of Perot's appearances on *Larry King Live* or *60 Minutes*. Still, his 800 number keeps ringing off the hook (some 1.8 million calls have been logged so far), and strategists from Maine to Arkansas are worried sick that Perot could mount the strongest third-party effort since Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose bid.

A more conventional wisdom is held by many people who aren't associated with a major party candidate and thus don't have Perot breathing down their necks. George Will believes Perot would do no better than John Anderson, who in the spring of 1980 was racking up percentages in the mid-twenties, similar to Perot's numbers now. Anderson got less than 7 percent of the vote in the November election, against Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. Susan Estrich, whose bang-up job as Michael Dukakis's campaign manager has made her the top-ranking rent-a-quote in her field, puts Perot madness down to "spring fever."

Neither of them comes to grips with the peculiar politics of 1992, which may be quite unlike anything the conventionally wise have encountered. Aversion to the candidates runs so deep that the ruling media and the leading party politicians

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have given up trying to anoint a leader. Voter turnout in the primaries is abysmally low, even by American standards. Voter apathy has converted to full-blown disgust.

The mass reverse-peristalsis is happening in a context of economic hardship, but that's only the half of it. The revulsion is against the privileges, perks and control by elites and bureaucracies whose major liability is that they are powerful, and the average voter is ever more convinced that he/she is not. With a thick application of his money in the coming campaign (should he choose to run), Perot could parlay disgust into a significant, perhaps decisive, chunk of electoral votes.

Ross Perot's message is not that he will make the system work better, which is what Clinton, Tsongas and even Bush have been putting out, but that he will make the system over—with no pain, no struggle, no problem. None of his 1.8 million call-ins seem to care what the Perot Revolution would bring them.

As Europe Turns

Is Britain drifting away from Europe, its conservative stability contrasting with the political turmoil on the Continent? One could draw this conclusion from the four elections in less than three weeks that have thrown a new light on the political map of Europe. In France, Italy and Germany it was a case of protest against the establishment, with votes switched to outsiders, some of them sinister. In Paris the result led to a change of government and the rapid departure of France's first woman Prime Minister. In Rome the tremor was even stronger, threatening the rule of the Christian Democrats, a reign uninterrupted since the end of World War II. In Britain, after twelve years of pure Thatcherism and the longest period of depression since the 1930s, the Tories received their fourth mandate. Neil Kinnock, with his "designer socialism" tailored to conceal working-class connections and facilitate admission to the capitalist club, has been denied entrance to 10 Downing Street. Come to think of it, there is a link between continental turmoil and British stability; it is the absence, in both cases, of a radical alternative on the left.

To be sure, the four elections were not the same (parliamentary in Italy and Britain, regional in France and Germany); neither were the electoral systems. It is strange now to hear Italians clamoring for a winner-take-all system, while the British Liberal Democrats (who with 18 percent of the vote got 3 percent of the seats), as well as some Labor leaders, plead for proportional representation.

On the Continent, resentment against the establishment hit opposition and incumbents alike. Italy's Christian Democrats dropped four percentage points, and the ruling coalition they head is clinging to a parliamentary majority by its fingernails. The ex-Communists of the Democratic Party of the Left, who by changing their name penetrated still further into consensus politics, were the other big losers. (Nominally, they dropped ten percentage points, but more than half of that went to their splinter, Rifondazione Comunista.) In France the ruling Socialists fared disastrously, the respectable conservatives in opposition, badly. In Germany, the Christian Democrats lost one region; the Social Democrats suffered a setback in another [see "Anger and Angst," page 581]. And everywhere the winners were outsiders—green, brown or of indefinite complexion.

This time the ecologists made their biggest advance in France. Fundamentally, the logic of their economic program clashes with that of the capitalist system, yet in practical politics they refuse to choose between left and right. Whatever their future, their success has revealed a fatal weakness of the European left: its failure to tackle the question of the nature and purpose of growth. This absence of an alternative project is also a factor in the advance of the xenophobic right, which is gaining ground among the young and the poor.

The reasons for popular discontent are many: deepening crisis, lasting unemployment, urban decay, the burden of reunification in Germany and the vague fear everywhere of European integration. Putting the blame on the foreigner is a classic diversion, and the "alien" can take many forms. To the big winners in northern Italy—the Lombard League, a middle-class protest movement that won less than 9 percent of the national vote but beat all the other parties in Milan—"bloody aliens" begin in Rome.

Since the causes for discontent are even deeper in Britain, why wasn't the Labor Party able to defeat the Tories? To say that its platform, bowdlerized over the years, was too much like its rivals' is both true and not quite accurate. Toward the end of the electoral campaign the views of the two sides on education, health, the welfare state and taxation for the rich plainly differed. But you don't win fighting on your enemy's terrain. The Labor Party was paying a price for its past concessions and for the resulting change in the mental climate. If private is beautiful, capitalism the only horizon and profit the only motive—in short, if the choice is between two accountants—no wonder that at the last moment some wavering voters opted for the Tory.

At stake here is more than tactics. The past fifteen years climaxed with the collapse of the Soviet system but also witnessed an extraordinary reversal of values in the West. True, the left in Britain and Germany, unlike in France and Italy, never talked of "changing life" by altering society. But it did think in terms of big changes within that society. Before the economic crisis of the mid-1970s the consensus was Keynesian and somewhat social democratic, and the right had to adapt. Now it is Friedmanite and the left has been performing somersaults.

POETRY WINNERS

Winners of Discovery–*The Nation* '92 will read from their poems on Monday, May 4, at 8:15 P.M., at The Poetry Center of the 92nd Street YM-YWHA, 1395 Lexington Avenue, New York City. The contest, now in its eighteenth year, is for poets whose work has not yet been published in book form. The winners are Carol Frome, Katherine McAlpine, Donald Platt and Heather Tosteson. This year's judges are Rika Lesser, Molly Peacock and Mark Rudman.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What it should do is start from scratch, looking at the world as it is now, with its changed structures of production and labor. The left must weave together its conceptions of the purpose of growth, the patterns of consumption, the organization of labor. It must include in its project the demands of, say, women, or the ecological movement, not as additions but as integral. It must remember that democracy is not limited to voting every few years, and freedom is not just the right to buy and sell.

Many people will dismiss such preoccupations as "utopian." The word may be taken as an insult if it means taking one's dreams for reality or marching, in sectarian fashion, miles ahead of the movement. If it means asking for the apparently impossible and thus outlining the vision of a radically different society, it should be welcomed as a compliment. Pragmatists say, "I would rather be an opportunist and float than go to the bottom with my principles around my neck." The message of the European elections for the left says exactly the opposite: It's your broken principles that sink you.

DANIEL SINGER

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s Europe correspondent.*

Anger and Angst

In Germany the economy is growing at only 1 percent per annum, but inflation is at 4 percent. Ordinary citizens are paying more in consumption and income taxes, and more for their social benefits. Unemployment, especially among the young, is rising toward 7 percent in what was West Germany. It will shortly be at least 20 percent in what was East Germany. In the past three years, more than 1 million ethnic Germans, many hardly able to speak their national language, have arrived from the former U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe. They have gained immediate citizenship, social benefits and resettlement assistance. In addition, nearly half a million Africans, Asians and Eastern Europeans have claimed political asylum—and have also been given public funds. With the costs of reconstruction in eastern Germany, the pressure on the society's resources is immense. The western Germans sense that their living standard is endangered, and the eastern Germans feel deceived by earlier promises (not least from Chancellor Helmut Kohl) of rapid prosperity.

A considerable outbreak of xenophobic violence in both halves of Germany has its sources in a fatal conjuncture: the unextinguished legacy of German racism, actual and feared economic deprivation and social displacement, and the utter inability of most of the political elite to offer new policies. In two recent state elections in western Germany, both Kohl's Christian Democrats and the opposition Social Democrats did poorly. In the northern state of Schleswig-Holstein, Minister President Björn Engholm, the new chairman of the national Social Democratic Party and presumptive candidate for Chancellor, held on to his majority only because the Greens failed by a few hundred votes to break the 5 percent barrier and enter Parliament. The rabidly right-wing German People's Union did score over 6 percent. In southwestern Baden-Württemberg, the Christian Democrats lost their majority, the Social Democrats declined, the Greens scored over 9 percent and the xenophobic Republican Party of former SS officer Franz Schönhuber won nearly 11 percent, with many votes from the young and from industrial workers.

Some German commentators have declared that the vote for "extremes" (Greens and the xenophobic parties) is a sign that the voters are disgusted with the major parties. No doubt—but it is absurd to equate votes for the democratic Greens with votes for parties whose ancestors are the Nazis. Chancellor Kohl, who received Kurt Waldheim and declared that Germany is not a country of immigration, must bear much of the blame: He has tried to manipulate ugly discontent and it has now turned against him. The Social Democrats deserve some of the blame, too. They have not proposed a serious asylum and immigration policy, and they have no viable economic alternatives to offer. It is no consolation that, as a German writer recently explained, the Germans are no longer really racist or xenophobic; they simply fear and hate the poor. Now Germany, like the rest of Western Europe, will have to learn how to live as an island of wealth in a global sea of poverty. Germany isn't alone with the problem, but its past casts a harsh light on its uncertain present.

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

POLLITT A WINNER

Katha Pollitt won a National Magazine Award in Essays & Criticism for two *Nation* articles: "Media Goes Wilding in Palm Beach" (June 24) and "Canon to the Right of Me . . ." (September 23).

★

Comforting Thoughts For Bush Campaign Re Clinton-Like Questions

Play golf at clubs whose whiteness count is lily!
I'm sure that Bush has never been that silly.
And lucky, too, that he won't fall apart
If asked the question asked of Gary Hart.
(I'm certain he is simply much too nice
To have some tweedy version of Ms. Rice.)
We know for certain he has never rolled
A cigarette of substances controlled
By law. He pops naught frowned on by the fuzz.
But, then, how come he talks the way he does?

Calvin Trillin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Libya: Love It or Bomb It

Retail sales here were off 0.4 percent in March, which spells bad news for Libya. Another couple of months' worth of poor economic numbers and the bombs will surely fall on Tripoli. We could call it Bush's summer surprise, except it must rank as the most predictable news since the U.S. press denounced the "conservative" threat to "reform" in Russia—i.e., efforts to establish democracy instead of a tyrannical alliance of Yeltsin and the I.M.F.

Even by the brazen standards established in the Iraq affair, the United States' and hence the U.N. Security Council's breaches of international treaties and laws are astonishing. As an Egyptian columnist in *Al Ahram* remarked, "What this shows is that the New World Order is a system of codified international piracy."

It's likely that the decision to blow up Pan Am Flight 103 was made in Teheran, in revenge for the downing of an Iranian Airbus over the Persian Gulf by the U.S.S. Vincennes in 1988, killing 290 civilians. David Evans of the *Chicago Tribune* concluded, after months of pertinacious work, that the circumstantial evidence strongly suggests that the Vincennes was inside Iranian territorial waters at the time. U.S. Navy Comdr. David Carlson wrote a year after the episode, in U.S. Naval Institute's *Proceedings* for September 1989, that he "wondered aloud in disbelief" as from his nearby vessel he observed the Vincennes shoot down what was plainly a commercial airliner in a commercial corridor, perhaps out of "a need to prove the viability of Aegis," the missile system aboard the Vincennes. Carlson described the Vincennes as a "Robo Cruiser" looking for a fight.

In April of 1990, George Bush conferred upon the brave Airbus-slaying Capt. Will Rogers the Legion of Merit, an honor also bestowed upon the officer aboard the Vincennes who was responsible for anti-aircraft warfare. The captain's citation, which made no mention of the rendezvous between missiles and 290 civilians, commended the captain for "exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service" and for the "calm and professional atmosphere" obtaining aboard the Vincennes. The United States rejected World Court jurisdiction when Iran sued for reparations.

Reverse it. A Libyan vessel, testing its equipment, shoots down a U.S. civilian airliner inside U.S. waters. Returning to its home port in Tripoli, the ship is given a tremendous welcome. Later, Qaddafi honors the captain in a moving public ceremony. In fact, Libya has acted with legality throughout the Lockerbie affair, with the exception of its offer to remit the two suspects to the Arab League. International law and treaty clearly establish that such suspects be tried on their native soil.

Footnote: The late David Blundy, a British foreign correspondent killed by the Salvadoran military, used to recall how he spent the night of the 1986 U.S. bombing raid on Tripoli in the cellar of the British consulate, drinking whiskey with the consul. This official had become besotted with Judy Miller during one of her visits to Libya as Cairo correspondent for *The New York Times*. Miller has excited many a manly heart, and the consul was no exception. As the bombs and missiles aimed at Qaddafi's tent rocked the capital, the official gulped down dram after dram of whiskey declaiming in a broad Scottish accent, "She's a ter-r-r-r-ible, ter-r-r-r-ible woman, but I love her. She's a ter-r-r-r-ible, ter-r-r-r-ible . . ." etc., etc.

Time's Attack on *The Nation*

Beneath the banner headline "Anatomy of a Smear," *Time* took up the Mena saga—subject of a number of columns in this space—last week. The Mena saga concerns the trafficking of guns and drugs through western Arkansas, with the involvement of the C.I.A. and the connivance in these illegalities of Ronald Reagan's and George Bush's Justice Department. As readers of earlier columns in this series will be aware, the Mena affair does touch upon the Governor of Arkansas, now approaching nomination as the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. State agencies brokered loans to companies associated with Mena. Political cronies of the Governor were similarly involved. Despite his campaign denials, loyally echoed by *Time*, Clinton sat on federal money that would have helped the investigation forward.

Time's reporter, Richard Behar, took a full page to suggest this was all nonsense and Governor Bill Clinton was falsely maligned. He went on to attack "some credulous journalists, including Andrew [*sic*]* Cockburn, a columnist for the *Nation*."

Leaving aside for a moment the matter of Behar's motives, *Time*'s story was ludicrous, claiming that all reports of *contra* resupply and C.I.A. activities in western Arkansas stem from allegations by Terry Reed, a former pilot, trainer of the *contras* and associate of George Bush's pal Felix Rodriguez [see "Beat the Devil," February 24]. Reed, according to Behar, says that the drugs and arms "enterprise" in Mena was "personally supervised" by Clinton and that Arkansas had "received 10% of the profits from the operation."

Reed has never said that to anyone we have spoken to. In the extensive clip file on Mena, including many stories in the Arkansas press dating back to 1987, no trace of any such claims can be found, even in the form of dismissals of assertions too silly to be taken seriously.

Time's attack has already had one beneficial consequence: Russell Welch, the prime investigator for the Arkansas State Police into illegal and covert activities at Mena, has now for the first time confirmed to us that in the mid-1980s, years before he even heard of Terry Reed, F.B.I. agents tried to warn him off the investigation. "They came here when the C-130s started coming in," Welch told my colleague Bryce Hoffman this week. "These were agents who I'd worked with and respected. They said that they had heard that the C.I.A. had an operation at Mena and they didn't want us to screw it up. I took it that somebody didn't want me to keep up on this."

* I'd make more fun of this were it not for the fact that four weeks ago my colleague Bryce Hoffman misread his notes and wrongly identified the vice president of the Arkansas Development Finance Authority as Gene Wheaton instead of Gene Eagle. The managing editor then unwontedly screwed up the erratum, saying that Gene Eagle worked for POM Inc. instead of ADFA.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Welch was reacting to Behar's claim, in a telephone conversation with Bryce, that all stories about Mena stem from Reed. Welch states flatly that the probe into drug smuggling and money laundering that he conducted with Bill Duncan, then a senior I.R.S. investigator, began in 1983, four years before Reed surfaced and seven years before Reed spoke of his role at Mena to journalists. Duncan says that "Welch and I received many reports of C.I.A. and/or other covert operations during our joint investigations during the mid-1980s" and that the detailed information Reed later supplied fit with testimony and materials already assembled.

In the one conversation *The Nation* had with Reed, the former *contra* pilot trainer was extremely circumspect and made no charges regarding Clinton. Behar maintains that Reed told him, in the presence of his lawyer, John Wesley Hall, that Clinton had discussed drug smuggling with him while smoking marijuana in a van parked outside a busy Mexican restaurant in Little Rock.

One has to wonder. Duncan tells us that Reed had mentioned speaking informally to Governor Clinton once, at Juanita's, a place frequented by the movers and shakers of Little Rock. There was no talk of vans or marijuana. Reed's lawyer Hall says that his client made none of these wild claims during the interview. Behar told Bryce that he had secretly recorded his interview, that "John Hall is lying" but that he couldn't be sure whether these statements were on the tape or in his notes.

Insight into Behar's reporting techniques is provided by Hall, who was quoted in *Time* as saying, "I haven't been able to corroborate [Reed's story], that's the problem." (The brackets are Behar's.) Hall says that what he told Behar was, "I haven't been able to corroborate a few of the details of Reed's story, but that has not been a problem, as everything in our complaint has been verified."

Further evidence of Behar's zeal to mangle reality to fit his thesis is his preposterous claim in *Time* that Clinton was "a vocal critic of U.S. aid to the *contras*." In the story's wake, Behar was still maintaining this to us. Clinton, of course, was noted for the readiness with which he acceded to the Reagan Administration's desire that the Arkansas National Guard be sent down for training to Honduras. The Governor's staff would scarcely have issued honorary certificates to the Calero brothers and to Gen. John Singlaub in 1988 if Clinton had indeed been that figment of Behar's mind, the "vocal critic."

What was Behar up to? It's not unknown for news organizations or individual journalists to curry favor with a presidential contender, particularly if he is a likely nominee. ABC's airing, as the first item on its nightly newscast, of anonymous accusations of drug use at Jerry Brown's Los Angeles residence when he was Governor was thought by some to be an effort to correct the impression that the network had been down on Clinton. (Roone Arledge, ABC News boss, should be careful about throwing stones, particularly with anonymous launchers, in this area. Some years ago, though aware of the importing of cocaine by one of its better-known employees, ABC made no report of the felony to the proper authorities and merely prompted the person to move on to remunerative and conspicuous employment elsewhere. Or so the anonymous sources say.)

This may have been the case with *Time*. It's certainly true that Behar feels strongly about me, denouncing my work in harsh terms to Bryce when the latter reached him in Israel to discuss the story. Without backing into some biographical complexities, worthy of the Goldberg Variations or the entwined figures in a Venetian tapestry, inflecting Behar's disposition toward *The Nation*, I have to entertain the possibility that Behar's animus toward me, and consequent eagerness to single me out as "credulous," might have something to do with his sense that I am, as it were, bad for the Jews. This is, at least, the thought of someone familiar with Behar. Behar's hysteria and zeal for distortion may be gauged from an eleven-page single-spaced letter he sent to the publisher of Christopher Byrons's book *Skin Tight* (about the jean wars), attacking his former colleague.

Behar is certainly a terrible journalist. Last year he published in *Time* a violent attack on Scientology, relying heavily on self-promoting and uncorroborated criminal informants and so filled with error and prejudice that it aroused considerable sympathy for the church.

Let us leave the story for the time being with Bill Duncan, who is now in the Arkansas Attorney General's office. He began working on the Mena affair in 1983. Powerful government forces tried to squelch his testimony to Congress in 1988. He was harassed and resigned from the I.R.S. when it became clear his federal investigation was being shut down. As he says now, "The problem here is that there is no formal investigation with subpoena power, which allows sworn testimony and access to documentary evidence."

Such is the history of federal and state obstructionism, which is proceeding even today in the offices of Governor Clinton, who since at least 1988 has done nothing to push the investigation forward. Arkansas Congressman Bill Alexander, who has been working to get Duncan and Welch back onto the case, himself complained about the apparent cover-up of activities in Mena. At a Congressional hearing back in 1989, Alexander said, "While I have the highest possible clearance that the government can provide for secrecy—being cleared for secrets that the President and no one else gets—I have still been denied access to information in a criminal investigation in my state."

With *Time*'s story, it is as if the magazine, back in 1972, had used an interview with Nixon's Attorney General, John Mitchell, to denounce the Watergate revelations as "a smear." But then, moments before the final incriminating tape surfaced, in mid-summer 1974, prompting Nixon's resignation in August, *Time* ran a cover story implying that maybe the press was going too far in pursuing Nixon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN

■ Rest in Piece

Desert Storm, for the moment, is largely forgotten, as President Bush, the Great Reformer, places the bouncing bums of Congress in his cross-hairs. Desert Storm II, though, remains a concept in development. (Saddam Hussein is probably following Bush's polls more closely than most Americans.) But let's hark back to the original. An Army officer who was stationed at a major military installation in the Middle East during the war recently told me that he was pleased with the military's performance for the most part, but one aspect of the conflict troubled him: down-in-the-trenches barbarity.

He says he saw several members of an airborne patrol return from battle wearing cut-off fingers around their necks. During one meal, he recalled, an amused captain passed around photographs of grinning U.S. soldiers posing next to enemy corpses that had been mutilated and propped up on bayonets like scarecrows. Then there was the "amnesty box" at his base. This is a common device within the military, a receptacle in which soldiers can relieve themselves of contraband, no questions asked. What distinguished this particular box was its stench, the odor of rotting body parts. Some soldiers were more attached to their souvenirs; in one instance, a severed arm was discovered on a military flight leaving the base for the United States.

Since this soldier still serves in the Army, his name must remain secret. But his stories were confirmed by a colleague who was in a position to know. It is striking that an individual witnessed repeated examples of such behavior so randomly, without looking for them. One might thus assume that somewhere, sometime, someone was disciplined for anatomical trophy-hunting, a violation of the Geneva Convention provision that parties to a conflict must "ensure that the dead are honorably interred." But as spokespersons for the various armed services told my associate Adam Freedman, there is no record of any inquiry into such conduct. An investigation would have been initiated, explains Staff Sgt. Jeff Sammons of U.S. Central Command, only if a specific complaint was lodged. "We have nothing," he says, "no allegations." Perhaps just a reeking box or two.

■ The 200-Hour Gap

The Republican Party is considering inviting Richard Nixon to its convention. The Senate is adding to its halls, at taxpayer expense, a bust of Spiro Agnew, who resigned from the Nixon Administration before pleading *nolo contendere* to income tax evasion. Agnew is the only Vice President who has not been so immortalized, and the bust deal, in typical Washington fashion, was arranged by Senator Ted Stevens as a partial and long-deferred payback for Agnew's 1973 tie-breaking vote to allow the construction of the Trans-Alaska pipeline. The Nixon Rehab program never ends.

One component of the crusade appears to be an effort to obstruct the release of the tapes of conversations Nixon secretly recorded in the White House. Public Citizen and Stanley Kutler, author of *The Wars of Watergate*, are suing the National Archives for the release of hundreds of hours of Nixon tapes related to Watergate. So far the Archives has made public sixty hours of tape out of the 4,000 hours it holds, and it claims that the released tape includes all the Watergate material. But the lawsuit—obviously based on some inside information—maintains that some 200 to 400 hours of Watergate-related conversations are still under wraps. The Archives' argument is undone by Nixon himself. In the acknowledgments to his memoirs, Nixon thanks an assistant for typing transcripts of tapes of White House discussions about Watergate from the first month after the June 1972 burglary—tapes that the Archives has not released.

The legal filing also reports that in 1987 the Archives notified Nixon that it had completed its review of all the Nixon tapes. If so, what's the holdup? The delay suggests some collusion between the Archives and the former unindicted co-conspirator and potential G.O.P. guest of honor.

■ Check, Please

Washington is a town of absurdities. Republican bad boy Newt Gingrich decries the sleaze of Congress. Yet, according to a survey by Common Cause, he is the leading G.O.P. recipient of campaign contributions from political action committees, raking in $210,000 last year. Top PAC-Man honors go to the House majority leader, Richard Gephardt, with $727,000. No one else broke $350,000. Of the sixteen House incumbents up for re-election who collected more than $200,000 from PACs, fourteen are Democrats.

And then there is all the wasted energy. An associate from Powell Tate—a public relations firm run by Jody Powell and Sheila Tate, former mouthpieces for Jimmy Carter and Nancy Reagan, respectively—calls and asks if I ever waited tables. Why is this important? Her firm has been hired to promote a survey that found—surprise—that 79 percent of those who ever worked in a restaurant or a hotel say the experience was helpful in developing job skills used later on, such as "following directions" and "writing." No, I reply, I never had the pleasure, but I did pump gas. She insists on sending me the survey right away. When I receive it the next day, I phone the poll's sponsor, the blandly named Employment Policies Institute. During a chat with another of its P.R. people, who admits the obvious—that the institute is a restaurant industry group—this fellow punches my name into a computer and says, "Well, I see that you worked in a service station."

Now, this is ludicrous: technology-equipped ex-flacks-to-the-powerful paid to push the line that being a waiter is a good career move. But this sort of "work"—along with that of a whole subclass of D.C. publicity jocks, spin doctors and lobbyists—is subsidized by taxpayers. Nonsense like the up-with-waiting survey is routinely written off as a legitimate business expense. Powell Tate charges (mightily, one presumes) and cleans up, the overlords of the restaurant industry can feel good about their craft and the rest of us pay for their free lunch.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

THE NEW ALLIANCE PARTY

Dr. Fulani's Snake-Oil Show

BRUCE SHAPIRO

On December 7 of last year, Mayor Carrie Saxon Perry of Hartford, Connecticut—the first African-American woman elected mayor of a major city, a progressive Democrat whose eloquent oratory and elegant haberdashery alike make her one of the state's most recognizable political figures—emceed the opening of a political campaign office on Main Street. To a substantial crowd gathered on the office steps, she enthusiastically brought on the candidate: "I want to introduce to you, possibly—isn't that wonderful—the next President of the United States." Mayor Perry's candidate that day was not a fellow Democrat but Lenora Fulani, presidential aspirant of the New York-based New Alliance Party. Mounting the podium after Mayor Perry, Fulani delivered an impassioned address touching briefly on political corruption, police brutality, Haiti, capital punishment and David Duke. In short order she raised more than $7,000 in pledges from the crowd.

Such tributes to Fulani are becoming more and more familiar, particularly in cities like Hartford, where she and the NAP are little known except from fleeting stump speeches. But in cities like San Francisco and New York, where the NAP is a familiar presence, judgments of a different sort—"deceitful," "divisive," "political destroyers," "Moonies of the left"—echo with remarkable consistency from the lips of activists, black and white alike, who have encountered Fulani, the New Alliance Party and party leader Fred Newman through more than a speech or campaign fundraiser.

The New Alliance Party has long been controversial, thanks largely to its practice of recruiting members through group psychotherapy and to its alliances, over the years, with figures as diverse as the neofascist Lyndon LaRouche and the Rev. Al Sharpton. But in the past, the controversy could be confined, like the NAP itself, to the narrowest political margins. No more. As Mayor Perry's encouragement (stopping short of a formal endorsement) demonstrated, Fulani's status as an African-American woman and the utter absence of a consistent, clearly articulated progressive agenda among this year's leading Democratic presidential candidates make her a tempting protest vote in some decidedly mainstream quarters.

Fulani's minor-party ticket will appear on the November ballot in nearly all fifty states. Her campaign has qualified for more than $1 million in federal matching funds, surpassing Jerry Brown's. Week after week Fulani attracts impressive media coverage, from respectful CNN interviews to an all-trumpets-blaring front-page story in New York's *Daily News*, complete with a half-page photo ("The 624G Longshot," said the headline), when she was first awarded matching funds. In New Hampshire, where she made a one-time entry into the Democratic primary, she was featured prominently in the conservative Manchester *Union-Leader*. When Fulani nearly threw the New York primary into a tailspin by charging that Paul Tsongas had not met the requirements of New York's byzantine ballot-access laws, she was credited by *Newsday* columnist Gail Collins with "exposing the slimy underside of our local politics." In recent weeks Fulani and the NAP have made headlines again, shouting down Bill Clinton in Harlem and Jerry Brown in Brooklyn for refusing to debate Democratic protest candidate Larry Agran, whom the NAP adopted after the New Hampshire primary.

It's time to take Lenora Fulani, Fred Newman and the NAP seriously; they are no clones of LaRouche but a national political phenomenon on their own terms. Much about the party remains weirdly laughable, convincing to no one but its adherents—like the Potemkin Village press conferences the party held during the New Hampshire primary campaign, packed with the NAP's own reporters, photographers and video crew. But the issues and dangers represented by Fulani and the NAP run far deeper; to understand them requires a journey across the fog-enshrouded frontiers between politics, psychology and accounting.

Revolution, for Therapy and Profit

What's their real agenda? Scratch an activist or politician who has encountered the NAP and that uneasy question lies close to the surface. One answer comes from Fulani herself. Relaxed in a scantily furnished lower Manhattan office between speaking engagements, she gently mocks suggestions that she is just a puppet of NAP leader Newman—"So, you've met my guru?"—and goes on to deliver a two-word platform speech: "More democracy." Asked to elaborate, she lays out a series of proposals only slightly to the left of the League of Women Voters: universal voter registration, inclusion of minor-party candidates in presidential debates, revival of the Fairness Doctrine for broadcasters, "direct democracy" in the form of citizen referendums on national issues like the budget, and an all-encompassing but vaguely articulated "economic democracy." Try as one might to extract something more, that's as specific (or radical) as Fulani gets. An amiable, ingratiating Fred Newman, carrying the official title of campaign manager, is not much more precise: "We are building a major third party around the issue of democracy."

Another answer comes from Fulani's longer speeches and off-the-cuff remarks in press conferences. There it becomes clear what she is *against*—just about everyone else on the political scene. There, too, hints of conspiracy whisper through her drop-dead cool: A respected radical journalist who has criticized Newman and the NAP since the 1970s is an F.B.I. informant "directly motivated by the Democratic Party." A

Bruce Shapiro is founder and director of the Grass Roots Reporting Project, a new initiative of The Nation Institute. Research assistance was provided by Paul Webster and Amy Bitterman.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

judge kept Paul Tsongas on the New York ballot only through a "fraud and fix from Mario Cuomo on down." The Trilateral Commission has a stranglehold on national political life. The U.S. economy was "assassinated" the moment the nation and its allies abandoned the gold standard. (Right-wing populists have long shared an obsession with returning to the gold standard, supposedly freeing the economy from the scheming hands of international bankers and financiers.)

But Fulani's and the NAP's real agenda is most clearly evident in the slow, steady growth, over more than twenty years, of what once seemed an insignificant crackpot organization. The NAP's history begins around 1970, one of the many byways on the convoluted and gloomy circuit of post-1960s revolutionary sects. A tiny radical collective on Manhattan's Upper West Side got the idea of organizing political activity around a profit-making experimental encounter therapy practice. Eventually dubbed social therapy, the scheme proved both an effective recruiting tactic and lucrative business, generating steady streams of adherents and revenue. (Much of this early history was first recounted in detail by Dennis King, who in 1977 wrote a prescient exposé of the then-minuscule movement for a West Side community newspaper.)

The intellectual and emotional leader of that original collective was Fred Newman, a Korean War vet who'd grown up in the Bronx, held a Ph.D. in the philosophy of science from Stanford and abruptly turned to Marxism in the mid-1960s. Newman and his small band of followers—physically occupying a communal apartment, intellectually occupying the tumultuous intersection of confrontational sectarian politics and radical psychology—became obsessed with their own idiosyncratic vision of a psychotherapy that would challenge not just individual neurosis but structural injustice in society.

Newman and his original associates (all of them white and most of them women) were political hard-liners who argued that only a revolution of the working class could resolve the individual psychic crisis; at the same time, like practitioners of est and other distinctly un-Marxist products of the nascent human potential movement, they believed that the road to their revolutionary new age lay in an extreme version of confronting the oppressor within, stripping the ego of its bourgeois, individualistic detritus. "There are no private feelings, only social relationships," declared one early social therapy handbook. Replacing "bourgeois" relationships with new revolutionary patterns of consciousness meant that virtually every aspect of existing life—sexual orientation and partners, domestic arrangements, employment—could be challenged at the whim of the therapist, with accommodation a condition of remaining in therapy. Newman referred to himself at the time as a "benevolent despot."

Much of the "revolution" urged upon clients involved advancing the business interests of social therapy itself—recruiting adherents among friends, lovers and neighbors, often dangling before them the possibility of readily available sex, and making large financial donations to the movement's work. There was overt political work as well, again in accordance with Newman and his associates, who by the mid-1970s formed their own grandly named International Workers Party, its leadership indistinguishable from the social therapy collective. Soliciting funds on the street and becoming a growing presence at neighborhood meetings, the Newmanites (then numbering perhaps thirty committed members) moved in and out of coalitions and vicious factional struggles with other marginal groups. The most notable coalition was with Lyndon LaRouche, already well on his journey to fascism and feared on the left for his followers' history of violent thuggery. Newman embraced LaRouche in 1974 as an ally and mentor, and then broke with him several months later. Around the same time, members started running for local political office on an independent slate. In 1977 one social therapy client-turned-practitioner, Nancy Ross, managed to win an Upper West Side school board seat after reassuring neighbors, falsely, that the by-then widely disliked International Workers Party had been disbanded. That success led the Newmanites further into electoral politics, where they finally emerged in 1979 as the neutral-sounding New Alliance Party.

A bewildering, ever-escalating shell game, a leveraged buyout of the campaign finance system.

One New Yorker who encountered Fred Newman and social therapy in the early years was Lenora Branch Fulani, who had been raised in Pennsylvania and was earning a Ph.D. in developmental psychology at the City University of New York (CUNY). By her own account, sometime in the late 1970s she heard Newman lecture and "was very intrigued by the progressiveness of the politics guiding his thought." Just as Newman had been while in graduate school two decades earlier, Fulani was struck by the discordance between her own working-class upbringing and her present life in the academy. She joined Newman for group therapy, ultimately leaving a black lesbian Gestalt therapist she'd seen for years and going to work for the Newmanites' social therapy clinic full time. She trained as a social therapist, volunteered her remaining free time to the NAP and appeared on the New York ballot as a candidate for lieutenant governor in 1984. "Social therapy was this wonderful breath of fresh air," Fulani says today. In the mid-1980s, she and one of the original collective members took over what had been the New York Institute for Social Therapy's satellite clinic in Harlem, treating clients privately on a sliding-scale basis.

Old Ambitions, New Alliances

When the Newmanites metamorphosed into the NAP in 1979, they did more than adopt a new name. They quickly adopted an overt political agenda far more likely to win allies—and donations—than their neo-Trotskyist rantings of the preceding decade. It started with ballot access; New York's notoriously restrictive election laws made the issue a sure way to win approval and donations from civil libertarians and conventional do-gooders. One of the more common Manhattan experiences of the early 1980s involved being approached

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

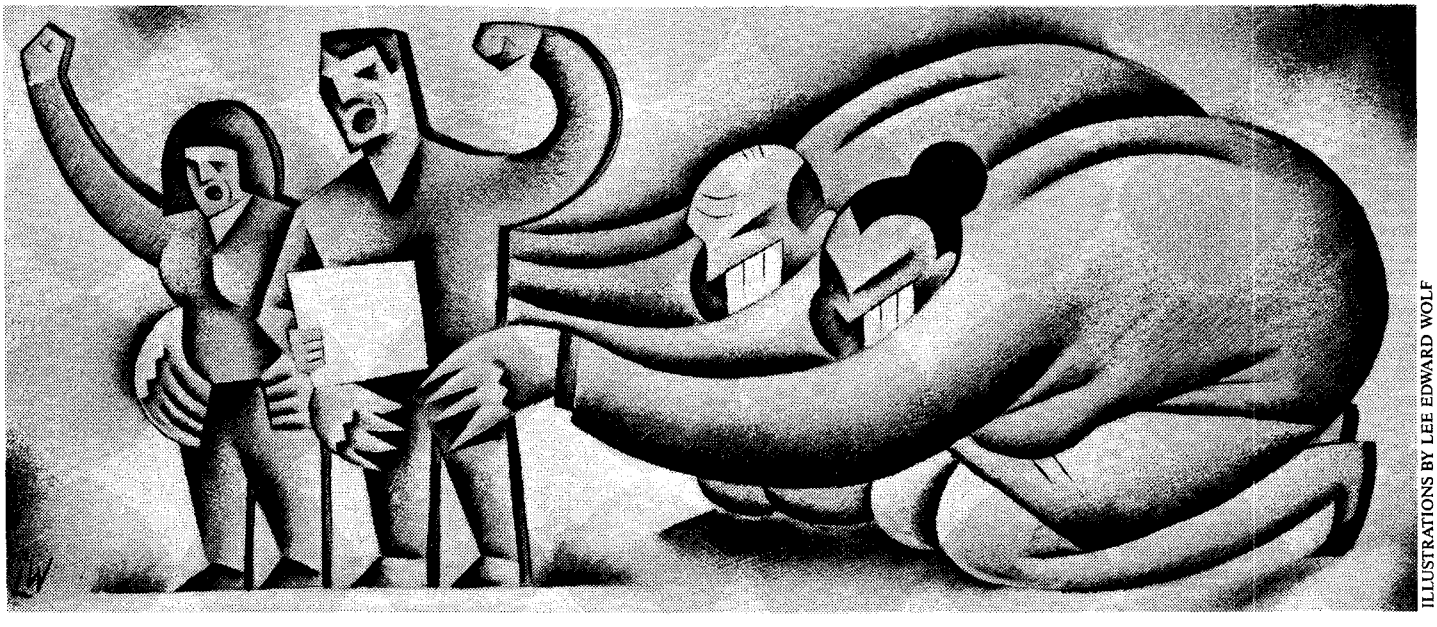
by polite, well-dressed individuals and asked to sign a card or petition helping the NAP get on the ballot in the name of democracy, and then being hit up for a financial contribution. At the same time, the NAP adopted an electoral strategy that Newman and Fulani eventually called (with the same grandiosity that led to his baptizing a ragtag commune the International Workers Party) "Two Roads Are Better Than One": supporting the party's own electoral line but also the campaign of any Democrat who'd accept their endorsement. Although some New York Democrats who were awarded the NAP's support eyed the party uneasily—like Assemblyman Frank Barbaro, who ran a "Dump Koch" mayoral campaign in 1981—the dedication of its workers proved an often irresistible offer.

African-Americans also fit into that original NAP strategy. Starting in the early 1970s, Newman and his then all-white collective embraced the notion that while they would form an intellectual vanguard, the black community would produce "organic" leaders of its own [see Adolph Reed, "The Rise of Louis Farrakhan," January 21 and 28, 1991]. In practice, that theory justified Newman's and the NAP's penchant for associating with conservative, demagogic black leaders little interested in independent organizing. The late Brooklyn Democratic machine boss Vander Beatty, eventually jailed for election fraud, was one ally. Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam was another, all the more so after Farrakhan's famous denunciation of Judaism as a "gutter religion" led Jesse Jackson to take two steps back. (Farrakhan's anti-Semitism is "a delicate question," says Fred Newman. "Does he have a subjective anti-Jewish attitude? No. Is he anti-Semitic in some sense? Well, who's exempt?" Indeed, Newman says, it is Jewish and left attacks on Farrakhan that "produce anti-Semitism in the black community.") The Rev. Al Sharpton became a particularly close ally when the NAP offered its members as credibility-builders for Sharpton's Howard Beach marches, and together with Sharpton the party promoted Tawana Brawley long after her tale of rape and degradation by white assailants was proved a fabrication. ("We knew 'Rev' before the media found him," Fulani boasts.) Today, Sharpton rents office space from the group and is even on the Newmanite extended payroll, holding a $12,000-per-year consultant's contract with the movement's teen talent agency. Fulani accompanied Sharpton on a high-profile trip to Haiti last fall.

In each case, the NAP picked an ally deeply opposed to values the party claimed to espouse (feminism and particularly gay rights, which made its way into NAP slogans even though social therapists had formerly attempted to "convert" gay clients) and dedicated more to empire building and glomming the media spotlight than to rank-and-file political participation. Each was deeply committed to entrepreneurial capitalism in the black community rather than to any version of socialism, and, most important, each built an African-American base on the politics of racial and ethnic division.

For the NAP, the watershed year was 1984, when Jesse Jackson first ran for President. In keeping with Newman's "Two Roads" dictum, the party supported Jackson (whom Newman had ridiculed just a few months earlier in explicitly sexual terms) but also ran a presidential candidate in the general election—a black socialist-turned-NAP member named Dennis Serrette. Serrette was on the ballot in thirty-three states and received 35,000 votes. A year later Serrette broke with the NAP, giving an embittered account to *The Jackson Advocate* of his years in the party. He described his frustration with what he termed the party's all-white leadership and the control he said Newman imposed on him through social therapy. The NAP's response was a $2 million defamation lawsuit in 1988 against the *Advocate*, Mississippi's only black-owned newspaper. The case was ultimately thrown out of court.

In the early and mid-1980s the NAP began seeking ballot status around the country, sometimes (as in North Carolina and Mississippi) moving its existing members into a community just long enough to qualify to run for some local office and conduct a fundraising canvass. Social therapy offices and party organizing drives were established in Washington, Boston, Chicago, Atlanta and other cities. Encountering the often daunting ballot access requirements imposed on alternative parties by two-party state legislatures, the NAP sued, time and again, occasionally convincing courts to cast aside restric-



ILLUSTRATIONS BY LEE EDWARD WOLF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions. In 1985, shortly after Jesse Jackson founded his Rainbow Coalition, the NAP started its own lobbying arm called the Rainbow Alliance, later the Rainbow Lobby (about which more later). In 1988, thanks to an ever-larger pool of therapy clients-turned-volunteers and an ever-larger pool of contributions, the NAP managed to qualify for matching funds and place its new presidential candidate, Lenora Fulani, on the ballot in all fifty states.

An accomplished public speaker with a sure instinct for the soundbite, Fulani became national chairwoman of the NAP as well as its presidential candidate. In 1988 she traveled everywhere with an imposing security squad of African-American women—her own version of Farrakhan's Fruit of Islam—hinting at once of black nationalism, gay pride and eerie robotic conformity. (This year, the security squad is multiracial.) After loudly supporting an often-uncomfortable Jackson campaign again in the primary (NAPers, Jackson complained, "would often trail the campaign and leave the impression that it [the NAP] was our organization"), Fulani went on to run on the NAP ticket and won 240,000 votes in the general election. This was a considerable performance in the world of minor-party challenges, where the standard on the left is Eugene V. Debs's 920,000 votes in 1920. "In '88 we were out to demonstrate our level of organization," Fulani says, adding that even the party's worst enemies would have to concede its success on that point. If nothing else, that performance—which owed as much to Fulani's impassioned manner as to the accelerating pace of fundraising—guaranteed her place as the NAP's premier representative. Today, NAP publications feature iconic treble-portraits of Farrakhan, Sharpton and Fulani.

NAP Inc.

The New Alliance Party has spun off dozens of organizations representing the party in the political, cultural and business arenas. Here is a selection of currently active organizations affiliated with the NAP or its leaders. (Unless otherwise noted, all outfits are headquartered in New York City.)

POLITICS/CANVASSING

Rainbow Lobby Inc. (offices in New York, Washington, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco)
U.S.-Congo Friendship Committee
Fred Newman Associates
Lenora Fulani's Committee for Fair Elections

PSYCHOTHERAPY/EDUCATION

East Side Center for Short-Term Psychotherapy
Washington Center for Crisis Normalization (Washington, D.C.)
Newman and Braun
Fulani, Silverman and Young
Institutes for Social Therapy (various cities)
Barbara Taylor School

COMMUNICATIONS/PUBLISHING

Castillo Communications Inc. (public relations)
Castillo International Inc. (book and multimedia publishing)
Ilene Advertising Inc.
National Alliance (national newspaper)
Practice, "The Magazine of Psychology and Political Economy"
Probe, "The Intelligence Magazine of the Working Left"

CULTURE/ENTERTAINMENT

Castillo Cultural Center Inc.
Fred Newman Productions—Budweiser Musicruise
All Star Talent Show Network
New Alliance Productions

BUSINESS/POLITICAL SERVICES

International People's Law Center
Community Literacy Research Project
Automated Business Services

The Cash Machine

Whatever their flaws, Newman and Fulani both understand that American political parties exist principally to raise and spend money. Behind the NAP's growing visibility lies a carefully engineered cash machine, founded in the social therapy practice. The party's deliberate strategy of giving campaign contributions the coloration of psychic healing was demonstrated one recent evening in Brooklyn. There, the NAP gathered some 250 of the faithful for a report on New Hampshire and, more important, for an intense fundraising pitch. "The more you give, the more you grow," Fulani intoned. "Take it out of your rent. It feels very, very good."

Party members and supporters make their legitimate contributions to NAP campaigns. At the same time, social therapy clients—among them, all members of the party—pay their fees to Newman and the other social therapists, who turn a portion of those fees over as their own contribution to the party and its affiliates. That's the basic framework. Over the years, though, this cash machine has grown increasingly complex, spawning a series of intertwined real estate holdings and for-profit businesses—an ad agency, a law firm, a publishing house, a theater company, an accounting practice and a music agency, among others—all run out of the same cluster of Manhattan offices, all employing therapy clients and party members who in turn channel their often-meager earnings back to the party [see adjoining box]. Each of those businesses also serves as a recruitment vehicle for the party itself.

The Fulani campaign's 1991 financial disclosure records show office managers, receptionists and other low-level employees of Newmanite businesses making contributions that are exorbitant by the standards of most people in such positions, in many cases hundreds of dollars a year. And that's just to one campaign; many NAP employees also contribute to campaigns for lower office and to associated outfits like the Rainbow Lobby. The Fulani campaign's on-the-books political workers are paid scantily (from $180 to $250 per week) but like other Newmanite employees manage relatively high-rolling contributions.

It is a bewildering, ever-escalating shell game, a leveraged buyout of the campaign finance system: Those donations from employees and therapy clients help the party and campaigns qualify for federal matching funds, and hundreds of thousands of dollars of the matching funds are funneled from the party back to the businesses through the purchase of their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

services. According to federal campaign finance filings, in the latter half of 1991 at least 35 percent of the Fulani campaign's expenditures went to those NAP-related businesses. How much money goes into the pockets of the actual business owners—Newman and his closest associates—is impossible to determine from public records.

What's certain is that the New Alliance Party is big business. According to a recent report in *New York Newsday*, the complete cluster of NAP-related businesses employs some fifty-six people and brings in at least $3.5 million a year. The East Side Institute for Social Therapy alone reports sales in excess of $400,000; by an account in its own newsletter, at least $240,000 a year above and beyond therapy fees comes in through telephone canvassing by therapy adherents—donations that, because they are used to bolster a for-profit business, are not subject to the open-books requirements of charities and nonprofits. The Rainbow Lobby brings in $1.5 million a year, spending hundreds of thousands of dollars of that on other NAP-related businesses.

This remarkably efficient scheme skirts the edges of federal election law. Campaign finance regulations clearly require that no individual make a campaign contribution "on behalf of another." The rules are designed to prevent, among other things, the old practice of executives and politicos funneling contributions through employees. The NAP's cash machine may run afoul of this prohibition. Are social therapists making a campaign contribution "on behalf of another" when they turn over part of their therapy earnings from clients involved in the party who agree to fees in part because they know how the money will be spent? Are employees of businesses owned by party principals making their outsized contributions "on behalf of another"? Is the New Alliance Party in effect "double dipping," taking campaign contributions from supporters within legal limits and then funneling additional contributions in excess of the public limits through businesses and cultural activities?

In a conventional political party, one that does not function through a high degree of psychological pressure on members and therapy clients, the answer might be ambiguous. Republicans and Democrats, after all, have their own semiofficial polling consultants, law firms and ad agencies. Newman himself points to Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition, "which has a whole network of interlocking businesses. . . . I don't see how it is avoidable." But the NAP is not a conventional political organization. Except on paper, the Newmanites' party is indistinguishable from social therapy and the numerous other businesses to which campaign funds are directed and from which campaign contributions flow. The question has never been properly examined by a government agency. The Federal Elections Commission has certified only that the Fulani campaign qualifies for matching funds by raising at least $5,000 in contributions of $250 or under in each of at least twenty states. But the relationships among various NAP-Newmanite businesses, and the question of whether NAP contributors are making a contribution "on behalf of another," have never been considered: "No one's ever filed a complaint," says F.E.C. spokesman Scott Moxley.

How the NAP spends its undocumented petty cash might

"A SMART AND SAD NEW COMEDY...SUPERBLY ACTED."
—Frank Rich, NY TIMES
"THE PLAY FASCINATES."
—John Simon, NY MAGAZINE
"A BEAUTIFULLY ARTICULATE PLAY."
—Michael Feingold, VILLAGE VOICE
"A GLITTERING WEB OF SATIRE."
—TIME MAGAZINE
"A MUST SEE!"
—Leida Snow, 1010 WINS Radio
Sight Unseen

A Manhattan Theatre Club Production
Orpheum Theatre 2nd Ave. & 8th St. TICKETMASTER 212-307-4100
Info. 212-477-2477 • Groups 212-889-4300

Toward a New U.S. Foreign Policy:
Promoting Democracy and Social Justice

Saturday, May 2
9:30 am to 6 pm
New School, 65 Fifth Ave, NYC

9:30 a.m. Plenary
"Is There Hope for U.S. Foreign Policy?"
Edward Said, Major Owens, Holly Burkhalter, Joanne Landy, Christopher Hitchens

2 p.m. Plenary
"A New Economic Order? Free Trade, Free Markets, and Democracy"
Adolfo Aguilar, Harley Shaiken, Kristin Dawkins, Maude Barlow, Dorie Wilsnack

Plus workshops with Jennifer Scarlott, Sam Farber, Allan Nairn, Vera Saeedpour, Thomas Harrison, Gordon Fellman, Saskia Sassen, and others.

Conference sponsored by Campaign for Peace & Democracy and Comm. on Liberal Studies, New School for Social Research, Free, For info call (212) 666-5924

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also be worth looking into. At a recent Jerry Brown rally in Manhattan's Union Square, a white organizer was observed paying black homeless men to heckle Brown on behalf of Larry Agran and wave NAP signs.

Disruption and Deceit

Fiscal manipulation is far less dangerous than another NAP tactic: confrontation and disruption of meaningful, effective organizations on the left and in the African-American community, and profoundly antidemocratic attacks on anyone deemed an opponent.

The NAP handles its critics and presumed political opponents with libel suits, smear campaigns and outright harassment. A New York journalist who writes critically of the NAP is recognized on the street by party canvassers, who chase her down the block shouting, "We don't want you in our democracy!" Representative Mervyn Dymally, a reliably liberal member of the Congressional Black Caucus, is reviled as a "jackal," an "accessory to murder" and an ally of Zairean dictator Mobutu Sese Seko after a fact-finding trip to that nation. When Dymally hits back in speeches denouncing the NAP and the Rainbow Lobby, he's sued (unsuccessfully) for $2 million. The NAP's newspaper brands writer Ken Lawrence of *The Jackson Advocate* a "government agent."

Then there are the stories that surface with remarkable consistency throughout the NAP's history, stories of stable activist organizations overrun by blocs of party members who attempt to steer the group into the Newmanite orbit. Sometimes they succeed, and sometimes the only result is a bitter and destructive factional fight. Newman, naturally, denies any deliberate strategy: "Believe me, we are not out to piss off the left." But the stories are legion. In 1987 members of New York's large chapter of New Jewish Agenda, a broad-based, diverse peace-and-justice coalition, noted an influx of Jewish NAP members and social therapy clients. The NAPers actively tried to recruit N.J.A. members for social therapy or the party, even inviting them on dates in a manner reminiscent of the 1970s, when social therapists used sex as a recruiting tool. They urged the organization to associate itself with the Fulani campaign, something longtime N.J.A. members were not about to do. Meeting after meeting the number of NAP members grew, and more and more time was taken up debating the extreme anti-Zionist proposals of the NAP members (at various times Newman has called fellow Jews "dirty," "self-righteous dehumanizers" and "murderers of people of color") rather than attending to the immediate business at hand. Finally, N.J.A. leaders concluded that the NAP was trying to either destroy the chapter or take over, and reluctantly, publicly, voted to expel twenty party members after a hearing.

Similar stories arise from every community in which the NAP has established a base. In California, NAP activists have deeply divided that state's longstanding Peace and Freedom Party, commandeering the San Francisco chapter while battling with others. Groups as diverse as ACT UP, the All-African Unity Party and the American Public Health Association report similar experiences. During the New Hampshire primary, in which Fulani ran on the Democratic line and garnered just 402 votes, a grass-roots coalition in that state, New Hampshire Citizen Action, was startled to find the NAP hijacking a coalition-sponsored town meeting: Out-of-state party activists somehow acquired a large bloc of tickets reserved for New Hampshire's poor.

When the NAP can't take over an organization or movement, it resorts to deception, creating a front group that is almost indistinguishable in name from a more broad-based and respected rival, sometimes even holding meetings at competing times. The most famous example is the Rainbow Lobby, which reminds donors in unreadably small footnotes to its fliers that it is *not* affiliated with Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition. The Rainbow Lobby manages to raise more than $1 million a year, largely through canvassing by social therapy clients and NAP supporters, making it one of the wealthiest public-interest groups in Washington. While it does engage in some ineffectual lobbying on such issues as Haiti and electoral reform, much of the money is channeled back to party campaigns and affiliated businesses.

Another example of NAP's marketing-by-deception occurred in California's East Bay. An Asian-American organization published a newspaper about violence toward Asians called *Break the Silence*. The NAP, trying to make inroads into the Asian community, put out its own sheet, called *Breaking the Silence*. Sometimes the scams are darkly comical. Like the time the NAP sought financial donations and endorsements for a dinner honoring A.W. Singham (a revered CUNY professor and specialist in Caribbean history who was a member of *The Nation*'s editorial board until his death last year) without telling Singham anything about it. Like the "gallery" that enables the NAP to present its lower Manhattan headquarters as the Castillo Cultural Center: Art covers only one wall in a lobby, behind which are extensive social therapy and business offices. Like the hornswoggling of Richard Serra, Christo and other artists into donating their work for a Castillo Cultural Center auction without once letting them in on the event's real sponsor and beneficiary.

Such deceitful and disruptive tactics are not aimed exclusively at the white left. In New York in 1990, for instance, NAP challenged the ballot petitions of an independent black campaign slate, the All-African Unity Party, claiming they lacked adequate signatures. The A.A.U.P. ultimately remained on the

THE NEW WORLD ORDER?

THE TENTH ANNUAL
SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE
APRIL 24, 25, 26, 1992

Speakers: Maria Elena Alves • Stanley Aronowitz • Bogdan Denitch • Boris Kagarlisky • L. A. Kauffman • Ernest Mandel • Jo-Ann Mort • Joseph S. Murphy • Major Owens • Frances Fox Piven • Daniel Singer • Cornel West • Ellen Willis ...& more!

BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN COMMUNITY COLLEGE, CUNY
199 CHAMBERS STREET
(NORTH OF WORLD TRADE CENTER) NEW YORK CITY

■ Pre-Registration letters must be postmarked by April 20th to be processed.
■ Professional childcare for toilet-trained toddlers, 3 years or older, will be provided on Saturday and Sunday daytime. Unfortunately, school insurance does not cover younger children in childcare facilities.
■ Please tell us if you will need childcare, how many children and their ages.

Pre-Registration: $25 or $15 (student/low income)
Registration at door: $40 or $20 (student/low income)

Make checks payable to:
"Socialist Scholars Conference"
Mail to: R.L. Norman, Jr.
CUNY Democratic Socialists Club (Room 801)
33 West 42nd Street
New York, NY 10036

Please send your name, address & affiliation (if you wish) with your check. For information: (212) 560-0101

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ballot, but its resources were badly drained by the confrontation. This year Lenora Fulani publicly derided organizers of a national conference in Washington on independent black politics as being "on a mission of a white racist Democratic party." And Fulani regularly refers to Jesse Jackson as "a complete sellout—Jesse sold his soul for a show on CNN."

The disruption of important black community institutions extends even into the realm of neighborhood-based social services. Just ask residents of South Philadelphia about the recent experience of Horizon House, a respected, long-established mental health center serving that largely African-American neighborhood. Newman's followers adopted Horizon House's thirty-two-bed inpatient drug-and-alcohol rehab program as a proving ground for their theories, without telling the center's administrators. It all started with a white staff member of the program named Jim Horton. Horton, then residential manager at Horizon House, became deeply involved in social therapy and the NAP (ultimately running for City Council in 1991), explaining to fellow workers that he rode his bicycle to work rather than buy a car so he could donate more money to the party. Two years ago Horton introduced social therapy techniques to his clients (most of them chronic crack users, most of them African-Americans) and to other staff members, according to both Horizon House officials and Fred Newman.

On the surface, social therapy seemed intriguing: It stressed pride in the African-American heritage, encouraging clients to see themselves as powerful individuals who could exercise some control over the forces around them. Soon, social therapy came to dominate the Horizon House residential rehabilitation program (just one of many Horizon House projects, and the only one in which social therapy was practiced). In turn Horizon House was peddled by the Newmanites as a success story. Newman himself made three trips to Philadelphia to speak at Horizon House and the program was featured in the East Side Institute for Social Therapy's 1991 fundraising mailer. The Newmanites made astounding claims for their cure rate in Philadelphia: 85 percent of the program's graduates were said to be drug- and alcohol-free six months after graduation, with half holding social service jobs and the other half employed or enrolled in G.E.D. programs. "It was an immense success," Newman insists today.

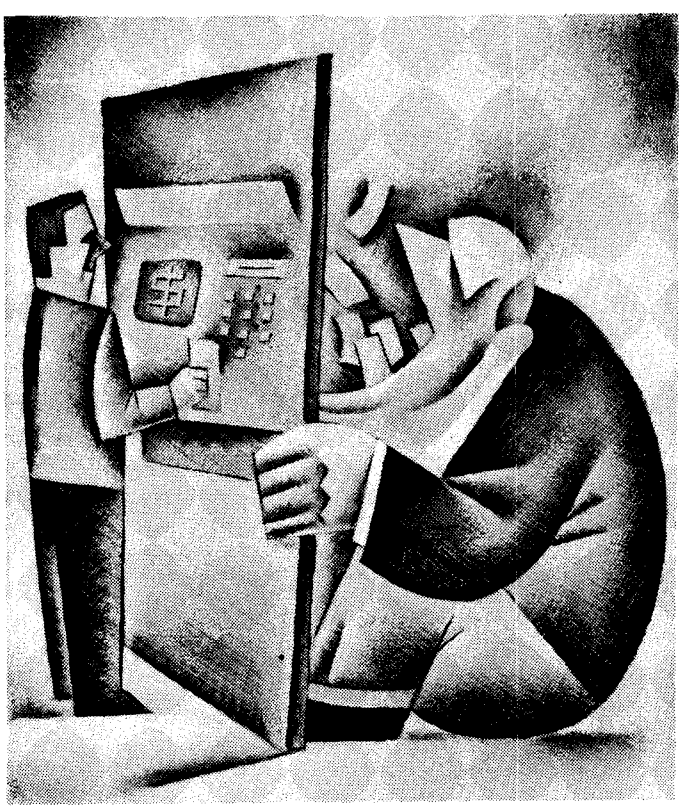
Any drug program achieving an 85 percent success rate would win its designer the Nobel Prize. But that estimate proved illusory. In fact, say participants, the social therapists' "intolerance" for anyone who was less than enthusiastic about the approach—and the berating of skeptics in group therapy—drove many residents out of the program. According to Horizon House, in 1989 the drug program graduated fourteen individuals—all people who'd successfully completed a residency of six to twelve months. But in the entire two years that followed—the heyday of social therapy at Horizon House—the program graduated just half that, with a higher than average recidivism rate.

Finally, last October, Horizon House's management fired Horton and banished the practice of social therapy from the residential rehab program. In a fashion that caught the apolitical Horizon House staff completely unawares, the Newmanites responded with a picket line and weeks of angry, abusive telephone calls from all over the country demanding Horton's reinstatement.

Clearly, Horizon House was one instance in which social therapy radically failed its largely African-American clients. What's more, many at Horizon House came to feel that what happened there was no accident. Rather, they saw the Newmanites' approach as an attempt to seize control of an established, reputable program in order to advance the NAP's philosophy and interests. At Horizon House the social therapy promoted by Lenora Fulani as the most effective tool for helping African-Americans "break with our adjustment . . . to our social role as victims" made victims of African-Americans who'd turned to it for help.

Psyche Killers?

The experience of Horizon House shows the intimate connection between social therapy and the NAP's most frightening political tactics. The party, Newman and Fulani can't be understood without understanding social therapy, the very heart of their belief system and political practice. Intellectually, the movement is linked to Lev Vygotsky, a founder of Soviet psychiatry who criticized Freud and Piaget for their individualized, apolitical understanding of cognitive development. Newman and his followers—in common, it should be said, with many more conventional psychologists and educators, particularly those contending with the impact of race, class and environment—embrace Vygotsky. Newman and Lois Holzman, one of the original Upper West Side collective members, have even edited a Vygotsky anthology, to be published this year by the respected British house Routledge.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now take Vygotsky's theories of social development one step further. What could be better than a therapy that gives central consideration to the dynamics of oppression, that leads clients from depression, addiction and loneliness to active social and political engagement? In that way, social therapy is opposed to the confessional "I am helpless before my addiction" approach of Alcoholics Anonymous and other twelve-step programs. "I was moving from a working-class black family into a white, affluent profession and experiencing immense confusion and conflict as a result," recalls one former client. "Having a therapist raise those issues was of immense value—at first."

The NAP thrives where political chaos is matched by a vacuum of genuine alternatives.

At first. But according to every independent account of social therapy since Newman and his followers started out, it often—at least for those clients deemed likely prospects for active party membership—turns out to be something else: a tool for making isolated, distressed individuals totally dependent on Newman and the party for all sense of self-esteem and community. For despite its ostensible left ideology, social therapy often functions in reality in a fashion remarkably similar to coercive groups like Synanon. Practically speaking, all such organizations work in the same way: Separate the person from his or her past. Therapists and groups of clients berate individuals for their past behavior and values, pushing them to the point of breakdown and then offering relief in the form of acceptance by the new therapeutic "family." Continued acceptance and continued self-esteem depend on the embrace of this new "family," which in turn means volunteer work or financial contribution to the vertically integrated therapy empire. Other identifications—whether with feminism, the gay community, independent activist organizations—are derided as bourgeois and self-limiting. "The gay community as a separate entity *keeps* you from being gay," Fred Newman tells one client in a dialogue included in his most recent book.

Some former social therapy clients describe being asked to inform the NAP of their whereabouts at all times so they could be contacted for party activity, or to hand their children over to the party's care in order to devote more time to politics. Dennis Serrette has recounted how particular clients would be targeted: "The group converged on the victim, who generally broke down in tears. . . . Topics ranged from the most personal aspects of one's life, to the failure to adequately give oneself to the organization." Adding to such psychic manipulation is the eerie, nonstop reverence for Newman himself. NAP's books, newspapers and journals are replete with tributes to the Great Man; quotes from his plays, poetry and speeches; praise for his sexual choices (Newman's present involvement with a party member is described in the movement magazine *Practice* as "a hot, sexy relationship without rape") and political wisdom. In a foreword to a collection of Newman's theoretical articles, Fulani calls him "the first person to teach me anything seriously useful about politics and/or psychology"; his photo graces ads for a comedy troupe performing at the Castillo Center. "When Newman was happy, everyone was happy. When he was angry, everyone was terrified," Serrette testified during the *Jackson Advocate* libel trial.

The all-encompassing political and psychological culture of the NAP is a classic and chilling example of what Robert Jay Lifton calls "ideological totalism"—"an extremist meeting ground between people and ideas" in which "the individual encounters a profound threat to his personal autonomy." It's an issue far broader than the NAP alone. The left has rarely confronted the dangers posed by psychological totalitarians in the human potential movement. Even when we disapprove of Werner Erhard and other New Age gurus, we're nonetheless inclined to view their presence with the polite if grumbling tolerance of neighbors on the same avenue of opposition culture. In fact, the alliance between political and psychological countercultures was almost certain, sooner or later, to produce a Fred Newman: someone who could join the human potential movement's appeal to desperate and isolated individuals eager for a quick fix and instant community with emotionally resonant outward symbols of social justice.

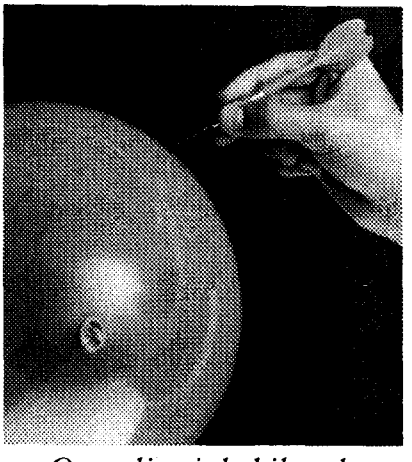
The Big Con and the Easy Mark

So what is their real agenda? In one sense, the NAP's "real" agenda—Fulani's vaguely reformist positions, the party's articulated ideology—doesn't matter. What matters, what NAP is about, is the *appearance* of constant activity: the self-perpetuating frenzy of recruitment and fundraising, the endless unread press releases, the books and magazines and plays and films produced by the converted, for the converted or soon-to-be-converted. Enemies are manufactured or exaggerated to prove the party's importance. The party's raison d'être is twofold: to massage constantly the egos of its otherwise marginal leadership, particularly Newman and secondarily Fulani; and to keep supporters convinced that something important is occurring every minute, to allow not a moment to pass in which doubt might enter.

It is necessary, however, to maintain perspective. Fulani, Newman and NAP have no mass following. They claim 10,000 members, but if campaign finance forms are any indication, a few hundred hard-core activists is a more accurate estimate. But at the same time, several aspects of the Newmanites' campaign make them a uniquely threatening phenomenon on the political scene. There is, first of all, Fulani herself. Any minor-party political candidate with the personal charisma and political skill to win support from mainstream black Democrats like Hartford's Mayor Perry is a symbolic force to be reckoned with. In screaming for Larry Agran's admission to Democratic debates or challenging ballot-access restrictions, NAP and Fulani are hypocritical and self-serving; these are the same people, after all, who will go to court to keep anyone off the ballot whom they deem an enemy, whether Paul Tsongas or a rival black political movement. But they also underscore precisely how local, state and national party machines have strangled the life from electoral politics for decades. In that sense,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why the most skeptical people in America subscribe to The Nation.



Our editorial philosophy.

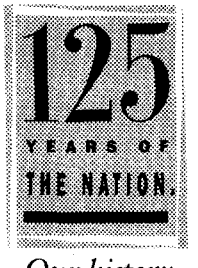
The Nation is the oldest weekly magazine in America. We even predate sliced bread.

Yet, despite our advanced age, we have never settled for mere respectability.

Indeed, the longer we're around, the more we pride ourselves on disturbing the status quo.

A paradox?

Not to thousands of our readers still able to declare they are "radical," let alone liberal.



Our history.

They prize the challenge we present forty-seven times a year.

The challenge to their assumptions. Their sense of what the news portends. And the disinformation that too often masquerades as news.

Our taste in art.

We always do our very best to keep all our readers freshly provoked.

With regular contributions from such iconoclasts as Alexander Cockburn, Katha Pollitt, Christopher Hitchens, Molly Ivins, Gore Vidal, Calvin Trillin, and drawings from the likes of Edward Sorel (well, nobody else is like Mr. Sorel).

Why do the most skeptical people in America subscribe to The Nation?

Because they ask the toughest questions and demand the liveliest answers.

Prove it:

Subscribe for yourself.

Our offer (for new subscribers only): Save 59% off the single-copy price when you subscribe to 24 issues of The Nation—one-half year—for just $22.

[ ] My payment is enclosed. [ ] Bill me later.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Please mail to: PO Box 10791, Des Moines, IA 50340-0791

The Nation.

Unconventional wisdom since 1865.

H2E111

Produced by Public Media Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NAP is poised to benefit from the same inchoate outrage against the political system now tapped by Jerry Brown.

What's more, the NAP as an organization is fundamentally different from most political marginals in several important ways. It has a steady, autonomous source of money (the social therapy business), and its followers are far better integrated into the mainstream of American life, with no Moonie-like flower sales, no Charlie Manson eyes, no anti-Semitism loosely cloaked in ravings about the Queen of England in the style of LaRouche.

Wealthy, well-organized, possessed of a conventionally comprehensible overt platform and a clear strategy: Altogether, there's no reason to think that the NAP will stop growing. Indeed, the party thrives in precisely those situations in which political chaos is matched by a vacuum of genuine, well-rooted alternatives—in short, the current state of national electoral politics. In that sense, the party's new visibility is a distinct rebuke to the democratic left. The NAP and Fulani offer the false but alluring appearance of a symbolically charged and emotionally outraged response to the feelings of exclusion from the political process many Americans harbor. "She addresses issues that affect my people, and no one else seems to be doing that," a politically experienced Hartford Board of Education member named Courtney Gardner, who raised hundreds of dollars for Fulani, explained to me.

Of course, it is an empty symbol. In twenty years on the political map, the NAP has used contributions and the labor of volunteers not to redistribute political power but to bankroll its own intertwined enterprises. It is, in fact, more parasitical than political: diverting the energy and funds of often well-intentioned supporters and poisoning the efforts of those it can't deceive.

In a year when the Democratic presidential nominee may well be someone who golfs at a whites-only club and is willing to throw the switch of the electric chair, Lenora Fulani's appeal will continue to grow. But add up the ledger: psychic terrorism aimed at party members, disruption and intimidation of opponents, elevation of political demagogues, hoodwinking of the public, and an ideology teetering between right and left, between provocative symbolism and head-spinning paranoia. One cannot support Fulani, whether with a vote or a contribution, without aiding the jackboot movement behind her. □

SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

MOVING?

Send both your old mailing label and your new address to:

THE NATION
P.O. Box 10763
Des Moines IA 50340-0763

Please allow 4-6 weeks for processing.

PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write to us at the address to the left, or call:

1 (800) 333-8536

Monday to Friday
7:00 am to 7:00 pm CST

Saturday
8:00 am to 4:00 pm CST

POWER STRUGGLE IN RUSSIA

Why Not Try Democracy?

The parliamentary clashes at the recent session of the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow were part of the larger debate about Russia's political future. It's rare to have an analysis of the underlying issues that's not filtered through Western eyes. The following article by Tatyana Vorozheikina, written before the current power struggle, provides a Russian voice.

A central issue in the Congress's wrangling was the powers of the presidency. Boris Yeltsin called for a democratic, free-market Russia ruled by a strong President. In the country's parlous state, Yeltsin said, parliamentary democracy, with its "endless talks and political games with pseudodemocratic rituals," would be suicide. But Russian legislators disagreed and attempted to curtail some of his presidential powers. One amendment, later rescinded, would have required Yeltsin to give up his position as Prime Minister within ninety days and nominate a new one, subject to parliamentary approval.

The New York Times *has identified Yeltsin's parliamentary opponents as old-line Communists and bureaucrats, presumably clinging to power. But the political landscape is more complex. Vorozheikina, for example, is a liberal democrat in her mid-30s who supports legislative and judicial checks on the presidency. She evokes the cautionary lessons of Russia's long history of authoritarian executive leadership, even as she recognizes the fragile—and weakening—institutional support for democracy there today. She also counters the argument advanced by many Russian economists that authoritarian means are necessary to make the transition to a market economy (the reign of Gen. Augusto Pinochet in Chile is a favorite model).*

As Vorozheikina points out, many of the people considered in the West to be Russian democrats are all too willing to ignore the country's past and adopt authoritarian methods to solve its present problems. —*The Editors*

TATYANA VOROZHEIKINA

Hidden and neglected amid the fanfare of the Yeltsin team's ascension to power following the failed coup last August has been a startlingly expeditious shift in the thinking of Russia's new rulers. The leaders and ideologues of the self-described democratic movement, many of whom now occupy government posts in the Russian federation, ardently defended the separation of powers only a few months ago. But now that they are in power their perspective is changing. After years of criticizing the slogan "All Power to the Soviets," they now proclaim "All Power to Us."

A newborn faith in executive power—and a concomitant

Tatyana Vorozheikina is a senior researcher at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

skepticism of the legislature—is found everywhere, from the Russian President's office down to the sprawling government bureaucracies to the unmanageable offices of city mayors and Yeltsin's appointed representatives in the provinces. Elected representative bodies have either been disbanded to the jeers of the public, as was the case with the U.S.S.R. Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet, or turned into the butt of jokes, as were the Moscow and Leningrad city councils.

The passion for executive dominance seems to be the fulfillment of Russian political scientist Andranik Migranian's controversial argument of two years ago that authoritarian rule was "unavoidable during the transition from totalitarianism to democracy" and essential for the transition to a market economy. The idea fell on fertile soil and is gradually becoming received wisdom among the new "democratic" establishment in Russia. As people become increasingly disenchanted with the newly elected legislatures, these ideas gain wider currency.

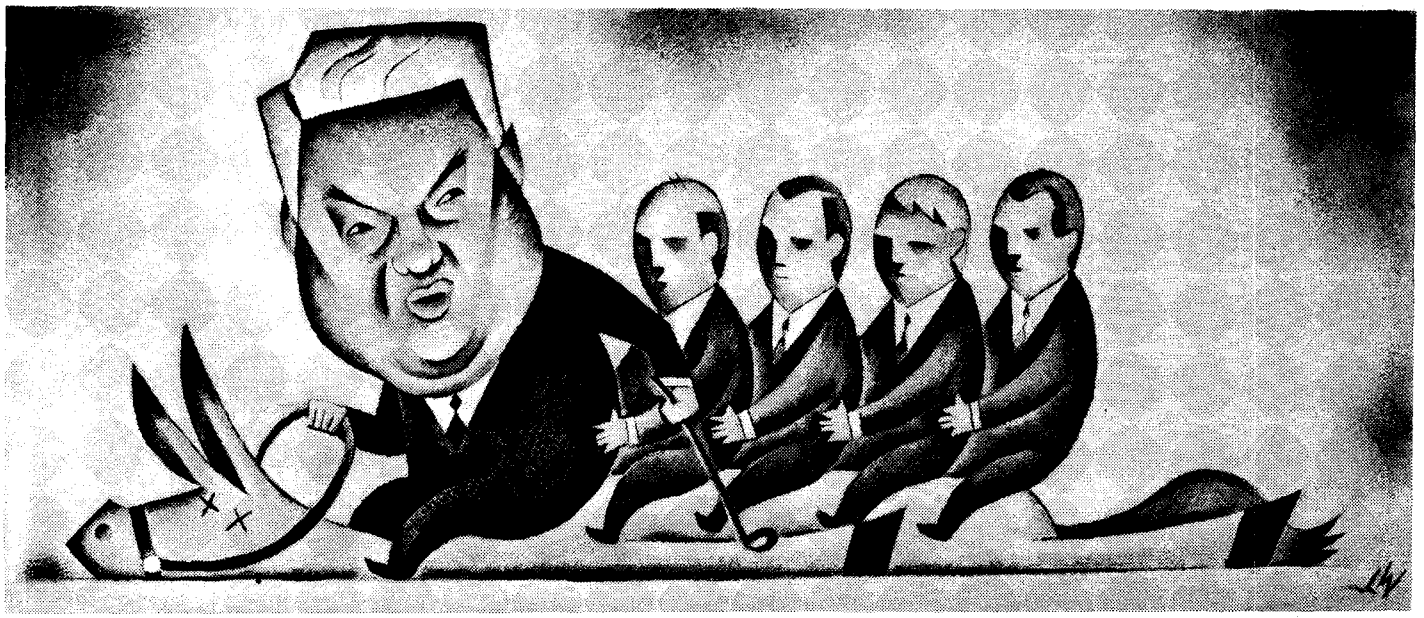
Elected bodies in Russia have provided ample reasons for disillusionment: In adopting reforms they have been paralyzed by constant bickering over procedural points and always ready to amend or disregard laws at the behest of those in command. Despite these inadequacies, however, to call them obstacles to change stands recent history on its head. In the Gorbachev era the Russian Parliament's reforms were obstructed by opposition from central and local government agencies, not from local legislatures or soviets. The resistance came from the Communist Party, industrial managers and administrative functionaries at various levels.

Less than a month after the coup attempt Yeltsin's chief aide, Gennadi Burbulis, let the Russians know that their elected representatives would no longer be needed. "Most representative bodies have become a hindrance to our reforms," he announced on government television. "These bodies were needed to destroy the totalitarian system but now they have accomplished their mission. Russia hungers for a vertical power structure," a vertical chain of command to "enforce the President's will and policies." The ultimate goal was to "eliminate opposition to the President in the executive branch of government."

Yeltsin and his aides argued that local governors should be appointed rather than elected so that the "right people" would be installed. "The uncertainty about the election's results in some regions requires appointment as the only possible procedure under the circumstances," wrote People's Deputy Stepan Sulakshyn in *Izvestia*. Thus an ideological rationale to clothe the bare "logic of power" was being woven. The Russian Congress approved an amendment recommending that Yeltsin remove his handpicked local administrators. "In all times, in all countries, drastic reforms and reformist breakthroughs were effected only by reasonably authoritarian leaders. Never have societies transformed themselves at a time of flourishing parliamentary systems," argued Yeltsin adviser Sergei Stankevich.

It would be wrong to ignore the real problems behind these strikingly frank statements. The Russian Congress of People's Deputies has been, until recently, an ineffective body that stalled the adoption of many urgently needed laws, and local executive authorities have often obstructed their implementation. The disintegration of the old Communist system brought about the collapse of the government hierarchy that had constituted the backbone of the state and society. There is now chaos because a civil society and market economy regulated by law have not yet been put in place. But attempts to create a new vertical power structure with a strong executive at the top, unchecked by legislative and judicial restraints, can lead only to the revival of the old statist mechanisms of power under a new name. There is no other system of authority to hold this amorphous society together.

The proposals for a new authoritarianism are doomed to failure. The central government has been too successfully presented as the main culprit for the population to welcome enthusiastically a revival of it by Yeltsin's appointees. Attempts to rule by force would only further destabilize the situation. The clearest example of this is the attempt by Russian authorities to place a Yeltsin appointee in control of the Chechen-Ingush autonomous region and declare the presidential



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elections there illegal. The result was the consolidation of the opposition around Chechen President Gen. Dzokhar Dudayev and further destabilization in the already precarious Caucasus region.

Paradoxically, it is decentralization that could become a key element in the strengthening of civil authority in Russia. Decentralization is not synonymous with disintegration; indeed, disintegration is the consequence of the supercentralization that suppressed all other mechanisms of self-regulation in society. To create a new political fabric and therefore a stable authority, the development of self-government from below, even with its inevitable risks and mistakes, is necessary.

Pious faith in the market underlies 'authoritarian-democratic' aspirations.

It is difficult, of course, to face the messy reality that elections may bring to power not only the "right guys" in the eyes of democratic leaders but some "bad guys" as well. Representative government—fully enfranchised legislative and judicial bodies and elected executive bodies—is the only thing that can make society responsible for the power wielded in its name. In the long term this path will also eliminate the deeply ingrained and essentially destructive opposition to all authority that flourished in the former U.S.S.R.

The advocates of authoritarianism believe that central control is essential for the establishment of a market economy, which in turn is the key in their eyes to the creation of a successful civil society and democracy. They support this contention by pointing to countries, from Chile to Singapore and South Korea, that employed authoritarian methods to modernize their economies successfully, thereby laying the groundwork for democracy. But the governments of Singapore and South Korea are far from democratic. The return to democracy in Chile resulted not from Pinochet's authoritarian economic modernization but from the deep-rooted democratic tradition in the country, which had had one of the most European political systems in Latin America.

Besides, the experience of other countries isn't necessarily relevant to Russia. There is no guarantee that an authoritarian regime would be willing to create a market economy. What motives would it have to overcome the inertia of state power built up over decades? Would the pro-market views of the present political leaders be any more long-lived than their democratic beliefs? Can we really expect that, driven by the ironclad logic of expediency, especially amid chaos and disintegration, they would not grasp the old familiar administrative levers? Wouldn't it be safer, and more beneficial to the market economy itself, to preserve the representative checks that have already started to erode the market-hostile monopoly on power of the former state institutions?

On the other hand, it is pious faith in the market that underlies the current "authoritarian-democratic" aspirations, including the desire to prevent the election of local governors. Today, they argue, the people are "wrong" and they will not elect "us." Therefore, let us appoint "our" people to carry out "our" reforms and install a market economy. Once this is in place a middle class will emerge, and then "we" will be able to hold elections because the people will make the right choice and elect "us."

The proponents of the new authoritarianism make a familiar and notorious claim to a monopoly on truth. There is a striking affinity between their interpretation of the middle class and the "new man" we were trying to develop during one stage in the construction of Communism. But there are more fundamental weaknesses with their arguments.

The notion of authoritarian modernization for the sake of future democracy completely ignores the fact that the economy has never been the determining factor in our social system. The logic of economics in Russia has never defined the logic of power—it has always been the other way around. The chances that the latest economic reforms, if carried out, would destroy this pattern are very slim both in the short and in the long term. In Russia, no automatic linkage can be expected between economic systems of ownership and the proprietors' political sympathies. But it is this belief in an emerging "market-oriented" middle class that obscures the significance of the already existent, if weak, elements of civil society that emerged during the most intellectually productive postwar period—1965-1985. During the "period of stagnation" under Brezhnev a new generation was formed that gradually jettisoned the blind ideological faith and deep-seated and visceral fear that pervaded Soviet society, an aftermath of the years of repression. This generation of intellectuals, professionals, skilled workers and people in independent professions made the reforms of *perestroika* possible. It is these groups, through their participation in elected bodies, that are most capable of opposing any tendencies toward an anti-market monopoly of the executive branch. And none of these groups are directly linked to the market economy.

"Our fear of the coming winter does nothing to change Nature. The winter will set in all the same," wrote Leonid Nikitinsky in *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. This analogy is used to prove that authoritarian rule is inevitable. Such sentiments are very common among the majority of our intelligentsia, who are motivated by an understandable human desire for stability (it's better to have an authoritarian regime than a civil war).

But society is different from nature; it needs an alternative. A society without alternatives is a society of "historical necessity," inexorably heading for another blind alley. The lack of political alternatives to the "party of power" (i.e., Yeltsin's government), along with growing social apathy and destructive tendencies, makes the future of democracy and the authority of the current government ever more precarious.

And if "winter" does come, the pressure for an alternative will become increasingly urgent because, unlike nature, society cannot expect the automatic arrival of spring. Whenever people who call themselves democrats embrace the "objective necessity" of an authoritarian regime, democracy is dead. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Education of Richard Hofstadter

ERIC FONER

The relationship between politics and intellectual life, at the center of today's debate over "political correctness," multiculturalism and other real and imagined sins of the academy, is hardly a new phenomenon. Throughout our history, contemporary political problems and commitments have shaped the questions Americans asked about their past and the answers they found. The career of Richard Hofstadter, the finest historian of his generation, offers a case in point. The reissue of his first book, *Social Darwinism in American Thought*, provides an opportunity to consider Hofstadter's own intellectual trajectory and some of the influences that molded American scholarship of the eras of the Great Depression and cold war.

Richard Hofstadter was born in 1916 in Buffalo, New York, the son of a Jewish father and a mother of German Lutheran descent. After graduating from high school in 1933, he entered the University of Buffalo, where he majored in philosophy and minored in history. As for so many others of his generation, his formative intellectual and political experience was the Great Depression. Buffalo, a major industrial center, was particularly hard hit by unemployment and social dislocation. The Depression, Hofstadter later recalled, "started me thinking about the world. . . . It was as clear as day that something had to change. You had to decide, in the first instance, whether you were a Marxist or an American liberal." At the university, Hofstadter gravitated toward a group of left-wing students, including the brilliant and "sometimes overpowering" (as Alfred Kazin later described her) Felice Swados, read Marx and Lenin and joined the Young Communist League.

In 1936, on the eve of his graduation, Hofstadter and Felice were married, and subsequently they moved to New York. Felice first worked for the National Maritime Union and International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and then took a job as a copy editor at *Time*, while Hofstadter enrolled in the graduate history program at Columbia University. Both became part of New York's broad radical political culture that centered on the Communist Party in the era of the Popular Front. Hofstadter would later describe himself (with some exaggeration) as "by temperament quite conservative and timid and acquiescent," and it seems that the dynamic Felice, a committed political activist, animated their engagement with radicalism. Nonetheless, politics for Hofstadter was much more than a passing fancy; he identified himself as a Marxist, and in apartment discussions and in his correspondence with Felice's brother Harvey Swados, he took part in the doctrinal debates among Communists, Trotskyists and others that flourished in the world of New York's radical intelligentsia.

Hofstadter thought intellectuals would be uncomfortable in any socialist society likely to emerge in his lifetime.

In 1938, Hofstadter joined the Communist Party's unit at Columbia. The decision, taken with some reluctance (he had already startled some of his friends by concluding that the Moscow purge trials were "phony"), reflected a craving for decisive action after "the hours I have spent jawing about the thing." As he explained to his brother-in-law: "I join without enthusiasm but with a sense of obligation. . . . My fundamental reason for joining is that I don't like capitalism and want to get rid of it. I am tired of talking. . . . The party is making a very profound contribution to the radicalization of the American people. . . . I prefer to go along with it now."

Hofstadter, however, did not prove to be a very committed party member. He found meetings "dull" and chafed at what he considered the party's intellectual regimentation. By February 1939 he had "quietly eased myself out." His break became irreversible in September, after the announcement of the Nazi-Soviet pact. There followed a rapid and deep disillusionment—with the party (run by "glorified clerks"), with the Soviet Union ("essentially undemocratic") and eventually with Marxism itself. Yet for some years Hofstadter continued to regard himself as a radical. "I hate capitalism and everything that goes with it," he wrote Harvey Swados soon after leaving the party. Never again, however, would he devote his energies in any sustained manner to a political cause. He became more and more preoccupied with the thought that intellectuals were unlikely to find a comfortable home in any socialist society likely to emerge in his lifetime. "People like us," he wrote, ". . . have become permanently alienated from the spirit of revolutionary movements. . . . We are not the beneficiaries of capitalism, but we will not be the beneficiaries of the socialism of the 20th century. We are the people with no place to go."

Although Hofstadter abandoned active politics after 1939, his earliest work as a historian reflected his continuing intellectual engagement with radicalism. His Columbia master's thesis, written in 1938, dealt with the plight of Southern sharecroppers, a contemporary problem that had become the focus of intense organizing efforts by Socialists and Communists. Hofstadter showed how the benefits of New Deal agricultural policies in the cotton states flowed to large landowners, while the sharecroppers' conditions only worsened. The essay presented a devastating indictment of the Roosevelt Administration for pandering to the South's undemocratic elite. Its critical evaluation of Roosevelt, a common attitude among New York radicals, would persist in Hofstadter's writings long after the political impulse that inspired the thesis had faded.

As with many others who came of age in the 1930s, Hofstadter's general intellectual approach was framed by Marxism, but in application to the American past, the iconoclastic materialism of Charles Beard was his greatest inspiration. "Beard

---

Eric Foner teaches history at Columbia University. A longer version of this essay will appear as the introduction to a reissue of Social Darwinism in American Thought *(Beacon Press) later this year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIBIDO

Erotica For People Who Like To Read

- Quarterly -
In the U.S., $26
Canada - $36 (U.S.)
Europe - $46
Asia, Australia and South America - $56
• • •

P.O. Box 146721, Chicago, IL 60614

YUGOFAX

"the voice of hope and sanity"
-- Neal Ascherson, Independent

With the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia and the decision to deploy UN Blue Helmets, the time is right to take stock of the Yugoslav conflict.

BREAKDOWN: War and Reconstruction in Yugoslavia

is a special 80-page YugoFax *dossier covering all aspects of the crisis, with more than two dozen top writers from each republic and elsewhere in Europe, united only in opposition to war and the division of people on ethnic lines. With:* ***Stojan Cerovic, Richard Falk, Misha Glenny, Mary Kaldor, Sonja Licht, Milorad Pupovac, Zarko Puhovski, Milos Vasic.***

YUGOFAX *is a critical briefing on the Yugoslav conflict produced by* War Report *and the Helsinki Citizens Assembly.*
Single orders: *$8.95. Bulk rates & sample back issues on request to: 7 Bury Place, London WC1A 2LA, UK.*

was really *the* exciting influence on me," Hofstadter later remarked. Beard taught that American history had been shaped by the struggle of competing economic groups, primarily farmers, industrialists and workers. Underlying the clashing rhetoric of political leaders lay naked self-interest; the Civil War, for example, should be understood essentially as a transfer of political power from Southern agrarians to Northern capitalists. Differences over the tariff had more to do with the war's origins than the debate over slavery did. Hofstadter's first published essay, a "Note" in a 1938 issue of the *American Historical Review*, took issue with Beard's emphasis on the tariff as a basic cause of the Civil War, while accepting the premise that economic self-interest lay at the root of political behavior. (The homestead issue, Hofstadter argued, far outweighed the tariff as a source of sectional tension.) The article inaugurated a dialogue with the Beardian tradition that shaped much of Hofstadter's subsequent career.

While Beard devoted little attention to political ideas, seeing them as mere masks for economic self-interest, Hofstadter soon became attracted to the study of American social thought. His interest was encouraged by Merle Curti, a Marxist Columbia professor with whom Hofstadter had formed, according to Felice, a "mutual admiration society." Other than his relationship with Curti, however, Hofstadter was not particularly happy at Columbia. For three years running, he was refused financial aid. Hofstadter was gripped by a sense of unfair treatment. "The guys who got the fellowships," he complained, "are little shits who never accomplished or published anything." (None of them, one can assume, had, like Hofstadter, published in the *A.H.R.*)

Denied financial aid, Hofstadter was forced to seek a teaching job. In the spring of 1940, he obtained a part-time position in the evening session of Brooklyn College. His first full-time job was at the downtown branch of City College, where a position opened in the spring of 1941 because of the forced departure of a professor accused of membership in the Communist Party. The New York legislature's Rapp-Coudert Committee had been investigating "subversive" influences within the city colleges; eventually, some forty teachers were fired or forced to resign after being named by informants. Students initially boycotted Hofstadter's lectures as a show of support for his purged predecessor, but eventually they returned to the classroom. Ironically, Hofstadter's first full-time job resulted from the flourishing of the kind of political paranoia that he would later lament in his historical writings.

Meanwhile, having passed his comprehensive examinations, Hofstadter set out in quest of a dissertation topic. With Curti's approval, he settled on Social Darwinism. By mid-1940, he was hard at work, and two years later, at the precocious age of 26, he completed the dissertation. *Social Darwinism in American Thought* was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1944.

Social Darwinism was the perfect subject for the young Hofstadter. It was a big topic, likely to interest a large audience, and it combined his growing interest in the history of social thought with his continuing alienation from American capitalism. It was the kind of subject, Felice wrote Harvey, "in which all his friends want to have a hand." "But in which they won't," Hofstadter added. The book focuses on the late nineteenth century and ends in 1915, the year before Hofstadter's birth. But, as he later observed, the "emotional resonances" that shaped his approach to the subject were those of his own youth, when conservatives used arguments descended from Social Darwinism to justify resistance to radical political movements and government efforts to alleviate inequality. Studying Social Darwinism helped explain "the disparity between our official individualism and the bitter facts of life as anyone could see them during the great depression."

Social Darwinism in American Thought describes the broad impact on intellectual life of the scientific writings of Charles Darwin and the growing use of such Darwinian ideas as "natural selection," "survival of the fittest" and "the struggle for existence" to reinforce conservative, laissez-faire individualism. The book begins by tracing the conquest of Darwinian ideas among American scientists and liberal Protestant theologians, a conquest so complete that by the Gilded Age "every serious thinker felt obligated to reckon with" the implications of Darwin's writings. Hofstadter then examines the "vogue" of Herbert Spencer, the English philosopher who did more than any other individual to define nineteenth-century conservatism. Spencer, of course, preceded Darwin; well before the publication of *The Origin of Species*, Spencer not only coined the term "survival of the fittest" but developed a powerful critique

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of all forms of state interference with the "natural" workings of society, including regulation of business and public assistance to the poor. But Spencer's followers seized upon the authority of Darwin's work to claim scientific legitimacy for their outlook, and to press home the analogy between the natural and social worlds, both of which, they claimed, evolved according to natural laws.

Despite the book's title and the deftness with which he sketches the lineaments of Social Darwinism in its opening chapters, Hofstadter actually devotes more attention to the theory's critics than its proponents. Beginning in the 1880s, Social Darwinism came under attack from many sources—clergymen shocked by the inequities of the emerging industrial order and the harshness of unbridled competition, reformers proposing to unleash state activism in the service of social equality, and intellectuals of the emerging social sciences. Hofstadter makes no effort to disguise his distaste for the Social Darwinists or his sympathy for the critics, especially the sociologists and philosophers who believed intellectuals could guide social progress (views extremely congenial to Hofstadter at the time he was writing). But Hofstadter's true heroes were the early-twentieth-century Pragmatists. William James destroyed Spencer's hold on philosophical thought by insisting that human intelligence enabled people to alter their own environment, thus rendering pointless the analogy with nature—but James evinced little interest in current events. Hofstadter identified more closely with John Dewey, whom he presents as a model of the socially responsible intellectual, the architect of a "new collectivism" in which an activist state attempts to guide and improve society.

By the turn of the century, Social Darwinism was in full retreat. But even as Darwinian individualism waned, Darwinian ideas continued to influence social thinking in other ways. Rather than individuals striving for advancement, the struggling units of the analogy with nature became collectives—especially nations and races. With the United States emerging as a world power after the Spanish-American War, writers like John Fiske and Albert Beveridge marshaled Darwinian ideas in the service of imperialism, to legitimate the worldwide subordination of "inferior" races to Anglo-Saxon hegemony. In the eugenics movement that flourished in the early years of this century, Darwinism helped to underwrite the idea that immigration of less "fit" peoples was lowering the standard of American intelligence. Fortunately, the "racist-military" phase of Social Darwinism was as thoroughly discredited by World War I, when it seemed uncomfortably akin to German militarism, as conservative individualism had been by the attacks of progressive social scientists.

When Hofstadter tries to *explain* the rise and fall of Social Darwinism, he falls back on the base-superstructure model shared by Marxists and Beardians in the 1930s. The reason for the ascendancy, until the 1890s, of individualist, laissez-faire Darwinism, Hofstadter writes, was that Social Darwinism served the needs of those groups that controlled the "raw, aggressive, industrial society" of the Gilded Age. Spencer and the other Social Darwinists were telling businessmen and political leaders what they wanted to hear. Subsequently, it was not merely the penetrating criticism of Lester Ward, John Dewey and others but the middle class's growing disenchantment with unbridled competition, Hofstadter argues, that led it to repudiate Social Darwinism and adopt a more reform-minded social outlook in the Progressive era.

Actually, Hofstadter offered no inde-

JUST PUBLISHED

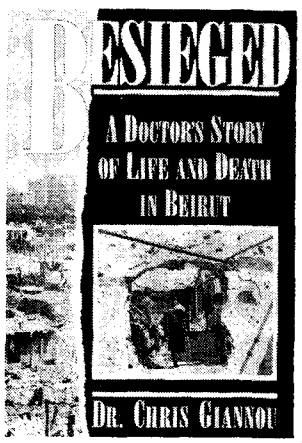
BEHIND THE MYTH
Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Revolution
by Andrew Gowers and Tony Walker

"A first-rate biography."
Publishers Weekly

"...this masterly and lucid biography must be essential reading for anyone curious to know how this remarkable, admirable but infuriating man has inspired a whole generation and is still going strong."
— Middle East International

"...[a] solid study informed by serious research and extensive interviews...Messrs. Gowers and Walker trace his ascent with skill and dispassion; if you want to understand Mr. Arafat, they tell the story."
— The Wall Street Journal

464 pages / maps / b&w photos
ISBN 0-940793-86-5
hardback $24.95



288 pages / b&w photos
ISBN 0-940793-75-X
paperback $12.95

BESEIGED
A Doctor's Story of Life and Death in Beirut
by Dr. Chris Giannou

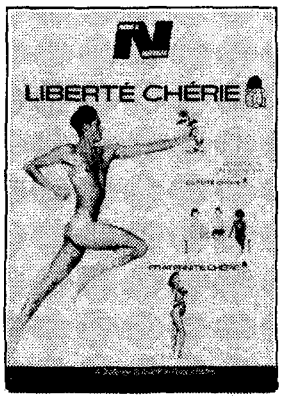
"Faced with history, no wonder the residents of Shatila fought tenaciously. Giannou describes their preparations, their setbacks, their ingenuity, their squabbles, their heroism, their agony and their anger with the detached precision of a surgeon — and that's what makes this book so compelling."
— The Globe and Mail (Canada)

"Highly recommended."
— Library Journal

AVAILABLE AT BOOKSTORES NOW OR CALL TOLL-FREE
1-800-238-LINK
(If ordering by mail add $3.00 shipping • NY residents add 8.25% sales tax)

OLIVE BRANCH PRESS
An Imprint of
Interlink Publishing Group, Inc., 99 Seventh Avenue • Brooklyn, NY 11215

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The Politics & Sociology of Nude Recreation

Nude & Natural is the premier international journal of clothing-optional lifestyles. In-depth reports and b&w and color photography from nude beaches, resorts, and clubs. Sports, camping, politics, personalities. Not just another pretty face among magazines. *N & N* can change your life. ***Nude & Natural,*** 4 issues, $25. Foreign, including Canada, $35. Foreign by air, $45. Sample, $8. Introductory videotape, add $9.95.

The Naturist Society
P.O. Box 132-TN
Oshkosh, WI 54902

Credit card orders phone 414-426-5009

Beaches & Resorts where clothing Is optional!

264 pages, lavishly illustrated World Guide. $24.95 shipped

One hour Beginner's Guide video, showing what to expect. $34.95 shipped

The Guide and Video together, $52.95 shipped. $6.95 less than if purchased separately! Get the world's best information on nude recreation.

The Naturist Society
P.O. Box 132-TN • Oshkosh, WI 54902
VISA/MasterCard orders: 414-426-5009

pendent analysis of either the structure of American society or the ideas of most businessmen or politicians. His effort to explain Social Darwinism's rise and fall is a kind of obiter dictum, largely confined to his brief concluding chapter. Indeed, Hofstadter later reflected that the book may have inadvertently encouraged the "intellectualist fallacy" by exaggerating the impact of ideas without placing them in the social context from which they sprang. *Social Darwinism* is a work of intellectual history, not an examination of how ideas reflect economic structures. And as such, it retains much of its vitality half a century after it was written. The book's qualities would remain hallmarks of Hofstadter's subsequent writing—among them an amazing lucidity in presenting complex ideas, the ability to sprinkle his text with apt quotes that make precisely the right point, the capacity to bring past individuals to life in telling portraits.

Social Darwinism has had an impact matched by few books of its generation. Hofstadter did not invent the term Social Darwinism, which originated in Europe in the 1860s and crossed the Atlantic in the early twentieth century. But before he wrote, it was used only on rare occasions; he made it a standard shorthand for a complex of late-nineteenth-century ideas, a familiar part of the lexicon of social thought. The book demonstrates Hofstadter's ability, even in a dissertation, to move beyond the academic readership to address a broad general public. Since its appearance in a revised paperback edition in 1955 (Hofstadter left the argument unchanged but added an author's note and made several hundred "purely stylistic" alterations), it has sold more than 200,000 copies.

Inevitably, *Social Darwinism* now seems in some ways dated. Today, in the wake of the "new social history," historians are more cognizant of the many groups that make up American society and no longer write confidently, as Hofstadter did, of a single "public mind." Given the pervasive impact of literary deconstruction, it seems decidedly (perhaps refreshingly) old-fashioned to assume, with Hofstadter, that texts have a single, rationally ascertainable meaning. But the most striking difference between Hofstadter's cast of mind and that of our own time lies in his resolute conviction that Social Darwinism was an unfortunate but thankfully closed chapter in the history of social thought. Hofstadter wrote from the certainty that Social Darwinism was demonstrably wrong, that biological analogies are "utterly useless" in understanding human society, that this episode had all been some kind of "ghastly mistake."

"A resurgence of social Darwinism," Hofstadter did note, was "always a possibility so long as there is a strong element of predacity in society." But he could hardly have foreseen the resurrection in the 1980s of biological explanations for human development and of the Social Darwinist mentality, if not the name itself: that government should not intervene to affect the "natural" workings of the economy, that the distribution of rewards within society reflects individual merit rather than historical circumstances, that the plight of the less fortunate, whether individuals or races, arises from their own failings. Had he lived to see Social Darwinism's recrudescence, Hofstadter would certainly have noted how two previously distinct strands of this ideology have merged in today's conservatism—the laissez-faire individualism of a William Graham Sumner (who, it should be noted, condemned the imperial state with the same vigor he applied to government intervention in the economy) and the militarist and racist Darwinism of the early twentieth century.

This is not the occasion for an extensive survey of Hofstadter's subsequent career, but it may be useful to trace briefly how in later writings he both departed from and returned to the ideas expressed in his first book. If *Social Darwinism* announced Hofstadter as one of the most promising scholars of his generation, his second work, *The American Political Tradition*, published in 1948, propelled him to the very forefront of his profession. Since its appearance, this brilliant series of portraits of prominent Americans, from the Founding Fathers through Jackson, Lincoln and F.D.R., has been a standard work in both college and high school history classes and has been read by millions outside the academy. Hofstadter's insight was that virtually all his subjects held essentially the same underlying beliefs. Instead of persistent conflict (whether between agrarians and industrialists, capital and labor, or Democrats and Republicans), American history was characterized by broad agreement on fundamentals, particularly the virtues of individual liberty, private property and capitalist enterprise.

With its emphasis on the ways an ideological consensus had shaped American

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

development, *The American Political Tradition* in many ways marked Hofstadter's break with the Beardian and Marxist traditions. Along with Daniel Boorstin's *The Genius of American Politics* and Louis Hartz's *The Liberal Tradition in America* (both published a few years afterward), Hofstadter's second book came to be seen as the foundation of the "consensus history" of the 1950s. But Hofstadter's writing never degenerated into the uncritical celebration of the American experience that characterized much "consensus" writing. As Arthur Schlesinger Jr. observed in a 1969 essay, there was a basic difference between *The American Political Tradition* and works like Boorstin's: "For Hofstadter [and, as Schlesinger might have added, Hartz] perceived the consensus from a radical perspective, from the outside, and deplored it; while Boorstin perceived it from the inside and celebrated it." As a courtesy, Schlesinger sent Hofstadter a draft of the essay. In the margin opposite this sentence, Hofstadter, who never felt entirely comfortable with the consensus label, scribbled, "Thank you."

Hofstadter had abandoned Beard's analysis of American development, but he retained his mentor's iconoclastic, debunking spirit. In Hofstadter's hands, Jefferson became a political chameleon, Jackson an exponent of liberal capitalism, Lincoln a mythmaker and Roosevelt a pragmatic opportunist. If the book has a hero, it is abolitionist Wendell Phillips, the only figure in *The American Political Tradition* never to hold political office. As in *Social Darwinism*, Hofstadter seemed to identify most of all with the engaged, reformist intellectual. It is indeed ironic that one of the most devastating indictments of American political culture ever written became the introduction to American history for two generations of students.

"All my books," Hofstadter wrote in the 1960s, "have been, in a certain sense, topical in their inspiration. That is to say, I have always begun with a concern with some present reality." His first two books, he went on, "refract the experiences of the depression era and the New Deal." In the 1950s a different "reality" shaped Hofstadter's writing—the cold war and McCarthyism. Having remarried after the death of his first wife in 1945 and taught for several years at the University of Maryland, Hofstadter assumed a teaching position at Columbia and again found himself part of New York's intellectual world. But this was very different from the radical days of the 1930s. He had "grown a great deal more conservative in the past few years," Hofstadter wrote Merle Curti, then teaching at Wisconsin, in 1953. But unlike many New York intellectuals, including a number of his friends, Hofstadter never made a career of anticommunism. Nor did he embrace neoconservatism, join the Congress for Cultural Freedom or become an apologist for America's cold war policies. He was repelled by McCarthyism (although he declined Curti's invitation to condemn publicly the firing of Communist professors at the University of Washington). After supporting with "immense enthusiasm" Adlai Stevenson's campaign for the White House in 1952, Hofstadter retreated altogether from politics. "I can no longer describe myself as a radical, though I don't consider myself to be a conservative either," he wrote Harvey Swados a decade after Stevenson's defeat. "I suppose the truth is, although my interests are still very political, I none the less have no politics."

What Hofstadter did have was a growing sense of the fragility of intellectual freedom and social comity. His

An Afternoon

With

Noam Chomsky

Renowned Linguist, Author, 'National Dissident'

And Lecturer

On

CREEPING FASCISM:

U.S. Democracy and The National Security State

In The Post Cold War Era

Joined For Conversation With Distinguished Panelists

Michio Kaku Phyllis Bennis Gerald Horne

Hosted By Samori Marksman

Executive Producer, WBAI's Worldview

Sunday April 26, 1992

2 P.M. - 5 P.M.

The New School For Social Research

66 West 12th Street, New York City

Tickets: $10.00 $ 5.00 Fixed Income and Students with ID

Limited Space Available for Pre-Program Brunch

For Information, Call 212-330-8277

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW TO JEOPARDIZE A PERFECTLY GOOD FRIENDSHIP.

Give someone you care about a gift subscription to *The Nation*.

In all likelihood, the recipient will get just as enraged, worked up and aggravated about the issues the magazine covers as our regular subscribers do.

That's because *The Nation* covers those issues with a critical spirit and an independent perspective that set us apart from other publications. Which isn't surprising, since it's written by such original thinkers as Alexander Cockburn, Kirkpatrick Sale and Frances FitzGerald.

And politics isn't all we cover. Our subscribers also enjoy our writing on the arts, which is of such extraordinary clarity and intelligence that it alone is worth the price of a subscription.

So maybe you should give *The Nation* as a gift after all.

Just be sure your relationship can stand it.

The Nation.
Subscribing to our principles isn't enough.

YES! I THINK MY RELATIONSHIP CAN TAKE IT. Please send 47 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the gift rate of $28 for the first gift and just $24 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO _____ (Please print)
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
GIFT FROM (Your name) _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Enclosed is $_____ for _____ subscription(s).
☐ Bill me later.

Foreign surface postage: add $18/47 issues.
Air Mail rates available upon request.
Subscriptions payable in U.S. funds.

THE NATION
P.O. BOX 10791, DES MOINES, IA 50340-0791

G2E111

next book was *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*, written in collaboration with his Columbia colleague Walter Metzger and published in 1955. As with other intellectuals, his sensibility was strongly reinforced by the Holocaust in Europe and the advent of McCarthyism at home. Hofstadter understood McCarthyism not as a thrust for political advantage among conservatives seeking to undo the legacy of the New Deal but as the outgrowth of a deep-seated anti-intellectualism and provincialism in the American population. The result was to reinforce a distrust of mass politics that had been simmering ever since he left the Communist Party in 1939. Reared on the assumption that politics essentially reflects economic interest, he now became fascinated with alternative explanations of political conduct—status anxieties, irrational hatreds, paranoia. Influenced by the popularity of Freudianism among New York intellectuals of the 1950s and by his close friendships with the sociologist C. Wright Mills and literary critics Lionel Trilling and Alfred Kazin, Hofstadter became more and more sensitive to the importance of symbolic conduct, unconscious motivation and, as he wrote in *The Age of Reform* (1955), the "complexities in our history which our conventional images of the past have not yet caught."

Hofstadter applied these insights to the history of American political culture in a remarkable series of books that made plain his growing conservatism and his sense of alienation from what he called America's periodic "fits of moral crusading." *The Age of Reform* offered an interpretation of Populism and Progressivism "from the perspective of our own time." In his master's essay, Hofstadter had thoroughly sympathized with the struggles of the South's downtrodden tenant farmers. Now, he portrayed the Populists of the late nineteenth century as small entrepreneurs standing against an inevitable tide of economic development. He saw them as taking refuge in a nostalgic agrarian myth or lashing out against imagined enemies from British bankers to Jews in a precursor to "modern authoritarian movements." (Interestingly, this interpretation still bore the mark of the traditional Marxist critique of petit-bourgeois social movements; the American Marxist thinker Daniel DeLeon had said much the same thing in the 1890s.)

In *Social Darwinism*, William Graham Sumner and the capitalist plutocracy of the Gilded Age had emerged as the main threats to American democracy; while noting the underside of Progressivism—its racism and Anglo-Saxonism—Hofstadter seemed to embrace its demand for state activism against social injustice. In *The Age of Reform*, he depicted the Progressives as a displaced bourgeoisie seeking in political reform a way to overcome their decline in status. A similar sensibility informed Hofstadter's next two books. In *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963), he identified an American heartland "filled with people who are often fundamentalist in religion, nativist in prejudice, isolationist in foreign policy, and conservative in economics" as a persistent danger to intellectual life. In *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* (1965), he suggested that a common irrationality characterized popular enthusiasms of both the right and the left throughout American history.

The Age of Reform and *Anti-Intellectualism* won Hofstadter his two Pulitzer Prizes, but ironically, today both seem more dated than his earlier books. Their deep distrust of mass politics and their apparent dismissal of the substantive basis of reform movements strike the reader, even in today's conservative climate, as exaggerated and elitist. And since the rise of the new social history, it has become impossible to study mass movements without immersing oneself in local primary sources, rather than relying on the kind of imaginative reading of published works at which Hofstadter excelled. These books seemed to wed him to a consensus vision that deemed the American political system fundamentally sound and its critics essentially irrational.

Hofstadter's, however, was too protean an intellect to remain satisfied for long with the consensus framework. As social turmoil engulfed the country in the mid-1960s, he remained as prolific as ever, but his underlying assumptions shifted again. In *The Progressive Historians* (1968), he attempted to come to terms once and for all with Beard and his generation. Their portrait of an America racked by perennial conflict, he noted, was overdrawn, but by the same token, the consensus outlook could hardly explain the American Revolution, the Civil War or other key periods of turmoil in the nation's past (including, by implication, the 1960s). *American Violence* (1970), a documentary volume edited with his graduate student Michael Wallace, offered a chilling record of political and social turbulence that utterly contradicted the consensus

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vision of a nation placidly evolving without serious disagreements. Finally, in *America at 1750*, the first volume in a proposed three-part narrative history of the nation, Hofstadter offered a portrait that brilliantly took account of the paradoxical coexistence of individual freedom and opportunity and widespread social injustice and human bondage in the colonial era. The book remained unfinished at the time of his death from leukemia in 1971, offering only a tantalizing suggestion of what his full account of the American past might have been.

It was during the 1960s that I became acquainted with Richard Hofstadter, first as my adviser for an undergraduate senior thesis and later as supervisor of my doctoral dissertation. There was a certain irony in our relationship. Today, I am fortunate enough to occupy the DeWitt Clinton chair in history at Columbia, which Hofstadter once filled. Half a century ago, two years before I was born, the victim of political blacklisting Hofstadter replaced when he took his first full-time teaching position at City College was Jack Foner, my father.

Whatever thoughts Hofstadter harbored about this particular twist of fate, he played brilliantly the role of intellectual mentor so critical to any student's graduate career. For all his accomplishments he was utterly without pretension, always unintimidating, never too busy to talk about one's work. Hofstadter's books directed me toward the subjects that have defined my own writing—the history of political ideologies and the interconnections between social development and political culture. Not that he tried to impose his own interests or views on his students—far from it. If no "Hofstadter school" emerged from Columbia, it is because he had no desire to create one. Indeed, it often seemed during the 1960s that his graduate students, many of whom were actively involved in the civil rights and antiwar movements, were having as much influence on his evolving interests and outlook as he on theirs. (The idea for the book on American violence, for example, originated with Michael Wallace.)

Despite his death at the relatively young age of 54, Hofstadter left a prolific body of work, remarkable for its originality and readability, and for his capacity to range over the length and breadth of American history. From *Social Darwinism* to *America at 1750*, his writings stand as a model of what historical scholarship at its finest can aspire to achieve. □

ART.

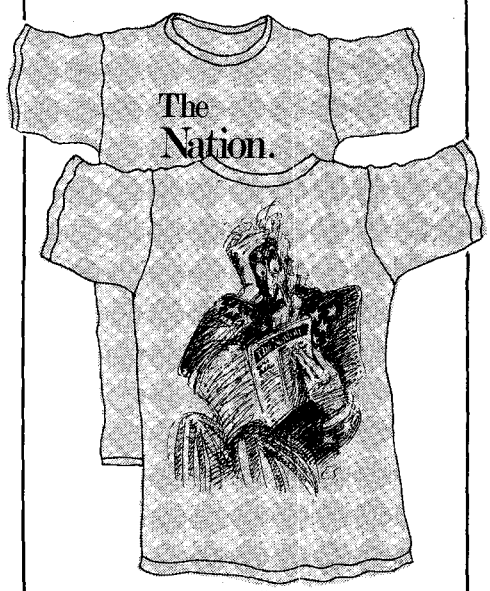
ARTHUR C. DANTO

Trompe l'oeil

An early biographer of Albrecht Dürer exalts him as "the second Apelles," by which the author evidently means to compliment the artist on his powers of illusion. The usual test of such powers in the anecdotal tradition is the duping of some innocent animal eye, leading the beast to believe it is in the presence of the real, when all that impinges on the retina is due to paint. The obligatory animal in Dürer's case was the artist's dog, who kissed a self-portrait his master left outdoors to dry in the sun, leaving a mark that (of course) "can be seen to this very day." One can mark a shift in the meaning of art by identifying a shift in the canonical events in narratives of artists' lives. It is clear, for example, that when artistic sincerity was attested to by the lopping off of an ear or by the artist's braining himself while driving drunk on Long Island, something different was expected of artistic experience than the witness of optically deluded animals as testimony to the craft of verisimilitude. And I am certain we will not have a clear picture of what we are to be getting out of today's art until the defining anecdote emerges in the lives of our artists.

How powerful the tradition of the duped eye remains may be felt in connection with a marvelous work by the gifted artist Mark Tansey, called *The Innocent Eye Test*, painted in 1981. The animal here is a cow, who is being observed by scientists in lab coats and glasses, eager to see what her responses will be when put in the presence of Paulus Potter's magnificent painting of a young bull, which hangs in the Mauritshuis in The Hague. Tansey's is a wry comment on a theory of good painting that begins with the story of Athenian birds pecking at the painted grapes of Zeuxis. But the style Tansey employs is so compellingly realistic that his painting looks as if it might be copied from an old photograph of an actual event in the history of science, in which the pictorial competence of bovines is tested against the compelling realism of a Dutch master, depicting something in which cows might have a natural interest. And so Tansey's viewers cannot help but

DON'T CRY UNCLE!



WEAR HIM ON YOUR BACK!

Wear the *Nation* T-shirt. These high quality, gray cotton shirts are printed in black with "The Nation" on the front and Edward Sorel's Uncle Sam on the back. They are only $11.95* each, postpaid. Or, for an even better deal, get 3 or more shirts for $9.95* each.

The Nation.
Unconventional wisdom since 1865.

YES, I want Uncle Sam on my back. Enclosed is $_____*

S____ M____ L____ XL____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE/ZIP _____

Mail check or money order in U.S. currency to: The Nation T-Shirts, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

*New York residents add sales tax.
Foreign orders add 33%.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wonder if anything like that ever happened, thereby situating themselves in the same tradition with birds, dogs and perhaps even cows, should Potter's dab-painterly hand trigger some flow of estrus or even just a friendly moo.

The deep cunning of Tansey's painting, however, lies in the way it re-enacts a famous duel in the legends of painterly illusion, that between Zeuxis and Parrhasios, as told us by Pliny in his *Natural History*:

> Zeuxis exhibited a picture of some grapes so true to nature that birds flew up to the wall of the stage. Parrhasios then displayed a picture of a linen curtain realistic to such a degree that Zeuxis, elated by the verdict of the birds, cried out that now at least his rival must draw the curtain and show his picture. On discovering his mistake he surrendered the prize to Parrhasios, admitting candidly that he, Zeuxis, had deceived only the birds while Parrhasios had deceived himself, a painter.

Tansey (the son of a well-known art historian) has taken on Potter, whose bull may indeed deceive the eye of a mere animal, whereas Tansey leaves his viewers wondering about the possible visual truth of his painting. Of course, he evokes this question in the minds of those whose perception is penetrated, so to say, by higher processes: who know something about the history of realism, about the genre of illustrating Great Moments in the History of Science, who may be influenced by the para-photographic style Tansey has made his own, together with the fact that it looks historically credible. Cows do not have higher processes and so do not live, as we do, in history. Animals such as they, Nietzsche once put it with great poetry, "forget at once and see every moment really die, sink into night and mist, extinguished forever. The beast lives *unhistorically*." So any painting designed to entrap the responses of birds or beasts must function in some purely optical way—co-opt the eye as a physical system. And that marks the difference between Tansey and Parrhasios. The latter must have hit on some purely optical strategy in painting curtains that looked curtainlike to whatever degree was required to fool the human eye, which in this particular instance functions in much the same mechanical and reflexive way as animal eyes do.

We have no particular idea of what Zeuxis's painting looked like beyond the fact that it contained some grapes: We do not know if they were depicted hanging from the vine, or piled up in a basket, or lusciously on a plate with a heel of bread, some goat cheese and a knife nearby. Nor do we have much by way of an idea of what the Greeks of Zeuxis's day regarded as compellingly illusory. Visitors to the Metropolitan Museum of Art can see at first hand some painted fruit from Roman times in the so-called Cubiculum of Boscoreale—apples, plums, peaches, arrayed in a glass bowl. The artist was certainly enough interested in illusory effects that he enables us to see the fruit through the glass. But it is difficult to imagine anyone having a disposition to reach out and touch it, to see if it is real. It in no sense "looks good enough to eat." It does not fool the human eye, and we know too little about the way the bird eye works to know what particular properties a painting must have if birds are to respond to purple paint as if to grapes. How realistic, for example, must a decoy be to give a flying duck the sense that it sees a peer? On the other hand, it is just possible that the draperies of Parrhasios might have succeeded in trumping human vision in part because of the shallowness of the pictorial space within which the illusion is to have worked. There was virtually no depth at all: Surface and background almost coincided.

It is something of an irony that flatness might trigger illusion, since it excludes precisely the device that was promoted to insure an effect of spatial depth, namely fixed-point perspective. That requires a horizon at which parallels converge, but it is well known that the illusion works only from the fixed point that gives the device its name: If one moves about in front of the surface and uses both eyes, the mechanism of parallax will soon dispel that illusion. But flatness excludes the horizon, and with no depth there is little opportunity for parallax to work, and illusion will survive the viewer's motion. The *trompe l'oeil* painter appreciates that parallax is the enemy to be defeated, and so characteristically uses objects of negligible thickness painted against a vertical surface *so* close to the surface of the painting as to appear not in pictorial space at all—like pieces of paper with writing that can be seen by someone standing at a normal viewing distance from the work. A painting of paper

FADED KODACHROME

Every last leaf has fallen from the trees
around the pond, a grit-scarred lens today
that focuses the spotty washed-out blue
above. Dropping from the sky, a mallard
hits the skids as he slams on the brakes,
stopping short on the water like a Corsair
landing, flaps down, on a carrier
in my father's day. My son falls for leaves
glinting like Lincoln pennies on the ground.
In the habit of seeing signs
of resurrection everywhere
I look, I mistake an airborne orange
beech leaf for a monarch
before I catch myself & think: *Too late.*

The color has long gone out of the woods,
the way the more I go back in album
time, the less colorful the characters
under the sun, till shades of gray
sink the family tree in mist & shadows.
Each step I take chasing my son
into the future puts me that much farther
behind him in the book. Grabbing a minute,
we rest on what I teach him is a *stump*,
& the wind howling all around us barks
up any tree, right or wrong. Once, the light
was everything; now it's the wind,
hustling me off toward the day
when I will take my stand in black & white.

Randy Blasing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

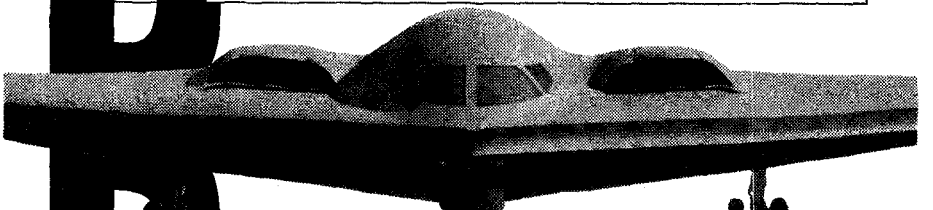
money need not worry overmuch about shadows either, and if the artist employs a steady direct illumination that more or less matches that of the room, and then depicts his thin objects with sufficient skill, it will be very hard to know that it is painted and not just pasted on.

I once came into a very valuable painting that way. It was a *trompe l'oeil* painting of a five-dollar bill that I saw in the window of a junk shop on 110th Street a good many years ago. I saw it from a passing bus, displayed in the window. With the guile of an art-stalker, I inquired after the price of the frame, which was handsome. The dealer said I could have the frame for seven dollars, providing I gave him a five-dollar bill in exchange for the one he had not succeeded in getting off. And then I could try my luck with it. It was an American "money painting" from the turn of the century by N.A. Brooks, an artist so obscure at the time that virtually nothing was known about his life. The dealer failed to see the tiny straight pin Brooks had painted to induce the illusion that the bill was merely pinned to the surface, and he overlooked the signature entirely. My sense is that he perceived the work as if it were one of those framed bills a small business preserves to celebrate its first transaction, ritually withdrawing the bill as if a sacrifice to the retail god. Of course, those are always bills of small denomination: Few can afford to sentimentalize a thousand-dollar bill. I in any case was pleased to own an example of an artist whose work had in fact at times been "forged" by sandpapering off the signature and writing in that of William Harnett instead, in a Parrhasios-like effort to dupe the Zeuxis-like eye of connoisseur or collector. And of course I have it "to this very day."

Parrhasios, in any case, intuited that flatness was hospitable to illusion, since curtains after all have scant thickness. And I would surmise that Parrhasios did not paint swirling baroque draperies but perhaps something like a theatrical curtain, in which case there would be no parallax to speak of. The basic elements of *trompe l'oeil* have changed very little down through the ages, chiefly because of the need to circumvent parallax, and this means that it can have played a role in Western painting very small in proportion to its role in narratives of artists' lives before the dawn of modernism. The greatness of Western art is a function of its narrative power, and that requires that pictorial space have something of the properties of theatrical space in which

A NATIONAL BESTSELLER • NOW IN PAPERBACK

DETERRING DEMOCRACY



NOAM CHOMSKY

Hill & Wang A division of Farrar, Straus & Giroux Available at bookstores now, or call 1-800-631-8571

WITH A NEW AFTERWORD • WITH A NEW AFTERWORD

RELIGION AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE

Edited by Michael Zweig

CONTAINS ESSAYS BY

Norman K. Gottwald
Gregory Baum
Pamela K. Brubaker
Michael Lerner
Ann Seidman
Amata Miller, IHM
Samuel Bowles
Herbert Gintis
Frances Moore Lappé
J. Baird Callicott
Michael Zweig

"...a superb book, containing some of the best work of highly distinguished figures in economics, religious ethics, and biblical studies.... Rarely does one find an economist with such a fine grasp on the development and substance of liberation theology.... There is no doubt, this book is timely, diverse yet coherent, excellent, and engaging."
— Cornel West, Princeton University

"... the entire left should welcome books like Michael Zweig's *Religion and Economic Justice* which will educate progressive people of a wide variety of political persuasions in the movement that has come to be known as liberation theology... a real *tour de force*."
—*The Monthly Review*

$34.95

Temple UNIVERSITY PRESS

available at the *Socialist Scholars Conference* or order toll-free 1-800-447-1656

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the great events—the annunciations, visitations, adorations, transfigurations, crucifixions, resurrections and final judgments—can transpire. And this entails that optical trumpery can have scant significance: There is just so much drama to be derived from a simulacrum of a five-dollar bill or a calling card or a newspaper clipping affixed to a wall or an envelope attached to a cupboard. A painting of the contest between Zeuxis and Parrhasios would fool neither bird eye nor human eye. As Jean Baudrillard says in an essay of surprising and uncharacteristic charm on this topic, "There is no fable, no narrative . . . neither plot nor characters. Trompe-l'oeil forgets all the grand themes and distorts them by means of the minor figuration of some object or other."

No one, I think, would be tempted to designate William M. Harnett, the major *trompe l'oeil* painter of America, as "the modern Zeuxis," though the large exhibition of his paintings on current view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art opens with a wooden basket of Catawba grapes. (The show closes on June 14, and then goes to the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, July 18–October 18; the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco, November 14–February 14, 1993; and ends its tour at The National Gallery in Washington, D.C., from March 14 to June 13, 1993.) Grapes figure often enough in his still lifes to make one wonder if some allusion is not being made to Zeuxis's virtuosity, and one can see that in fact the convincing depiction of grapes calls upon some fine observation: Grapes are small enough to be translucent and smooth enough to reflect light like little globes, so the task is to handle the intricate play of illumination and transillumination while producing something that looks ripe and succulent. The difficulty with the admittedly early *Wooden Basket of Catawba Grapes* (1876) is that Harnett lavished much the same degree of skill on each grape, as if it were a metaphor for equal rights, and the result has in consequence a kind of primitive quality, and looks a bit more like a journeyman lithograph by Currier and Ives than like the astonishing basket with grapes by Caravaggio, where the fruit twists and turns with baroque urgency and power. Harnett's grapes sit stolidly in their basket as the basket sits stolidly on the marble-topped table. Birds might find them irresistible, but I dare say no one has performed an innocent-eye test by leaving the work outdoors. Harnett did, however, earn the title "a modern Parrhasios" a few years later from a critic who commented on the artist's "gigantic patience [and] his astonishing powers of observation and imitation." The critic felt there had to be an element of pedantry in this, but he also gives us a picture of the work's *Rezeption*, as the Germans term it: "Harnett's still life is surrounded by an astonished, admiring crowd." It is plain that the "pedantry" subserved the intention to dazzle.

Dazzle, I think, rather than deceive, though the artist's skimpy biography is enhanced with anecdotes of deception somewhat parallel to the one I encountered with my five-dollar bill: Harnett painted a dollar bill on a dues notice that looked pasted on (we can imagine the creditor's struggle to detach it, like the dealer on 110th Street). And he drew some stamps that went easily through the mails. I am interested in these kinds of efforts because they provide a precedent for the contemporary money-artist, Boggs, whose intricately imitated and mischievously modified pieces of currency, while not intended to deceive anyone, are used by him in actual transactions. Boggs admires the complex designs on the face of bills, and part of his mission is to draw our attention to something we so easily overlook; but his own wonderful drawings of money are more or less the bait to draw others into what he actually calls "transactions," and in which his work finally consists. Harnett was once arrested for counterfeiting, a comedy money-artists find themselves drawn into now and again. Treasury agents playing the role of birds: Boggs faced prison in England and in Australia, and the U.S. government insisted that the drawings in a catalogue of his exhibition a few years ago not be printed in color. The more typical story, in Harnett's case at least, has viewers betting on whether the objects in a painting are real, and the catalogue tells of one cognitively frustrated viewer who "wickedly stuck his cane into the painting and slightly damaged it." The cane-dent belongs with the tongue-mark of Dürer's dog, the pocks of Athenian starlings, as something that the tradition requires—they "can be seen to this very day."

Harnett's works fall into two categories, which I shall distinguish as Zeuxis-works—the basket of grapes being the paradigm of exactly rendered objects, edible or otherwise, arrayed on a table top—and as Parrhasios-works—the vertical *trompe l'oeil* paintings, in which objects are pinned to or hung from nails driven into splintered and otherwise distressed wooden doors. These gave the artist occasion to paint rusty hinges, nail holes, scratches, graffiti, chipped and peeling paint and—interestingly in terms of the tradition—the sort of *craquelure* to which paint is subject, leaving the viewer to figure out whether Harnett's paint is afflicted by it or merely represents

100 B.C.

Henceforth what had lain in the detestable square
where the pink exacto- knife blade of the guillotine
once fell, would change me: the sun cart-wheeling
into evening; the lazy scorpion, jeweled on the trough rim,
lifting his pincers like a Roman athlete,
his tail erectile and tipped with a sting,
as I splashed the slightly radio-active fountain
on my face; the violet-man dropping his sad bouquets;
and far off, expensive drinks reanimating a terrace.
No more complex a thing than one man cutting another.
Who chooses this end makes sorrow.
Who knows the parables of power a better thing.
Above us in her lacy niche a dusty Virgin
ornamented the long, patrician avenue.
Though her pretty gown was overgrown with ivy,
her crown shone bright as a musical toy's.
What could she have been pointing to from the eaves
for her child to see but each of us—
the man of cloth hurrying from his bell-tower,
the flesh of the fallen one half-opened, filled with roses,
the rattle of coins from the dark one who fled,
and me, foolish witness— caught
in a tapestry anonymous and faded as the human race?

Henri Cole

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it. Certain objects appear in both genres, pipes for example, or musical instruments; and in some instances the two genres are combined, as in *Old Cupboard Door* of 1889, which uses a shelf as a sort of table top while certain flat objects are affixed to the door above it: sheets of music, a key, a note on curling paper, a violin. Certain substances, like paper, vellum, varnished wood, dented copper or polished pewter, rusting iron, cracked ivory, salt-glazed ceramic, glass of course, and especially string, are very responsive to Harnett's touch. Other substances appear to evade him. The skulls, for example, which play a role in his *vanitas* paintings, are almost startlingly un-bonelike, and though he captures well the plucked flesh and claw-skin of suspended turkey, the pinfeathers are something of an embarrassment, as though he tried too hard. My general sense is that he had a hard time with organic material. The various *After the Hunt* paintings are fine when depicting wood or brass, but the plump game—rabbits, grouse—doesn't have the life of inanimate objects. And even though contemporary reports describe viewers enthralled by the birds and bunnies, it is hard to believe anyone was deceived by them: The eye cannot have changed in a mere century. And in truth, some dimension of Harnett's achievement is left untouched after we have canvassed the successes and failures of imitation. Few artists in history handled such matters better than Chardin, who loved to paint the utensils of the kitchen and was marvelous with meat. But that hardly enters our appreciation of his true attainment as a visual thinker.

Harnett's paintings were done in the 1880s for the most part (he died in 1892), but they were not typical of what else was being painted then, as the fact of the admiring clusters of viewers attests. Beyond that, they looked old: Harnett chose the sorts of objects he could paint in his favored way, and this tended to mean used and worn objects, *old* violins with patinated varnish, fading letters, torn and peeling paper. And because they were so realist, the impression was irresistible that the paintings themselves were old. Superficially, the feeling is one of mellowness, of a comfortable way of life, an interior with smoking tobacco, bottles of spirits, books, music, some letters. These feel like they belong to the den of the confirmed bachelor who finds a certain contentment in being among his "things," with the curtains drawn and no one around to complain about spilled ashes or burn marks left by unextinguished pipes or ci-

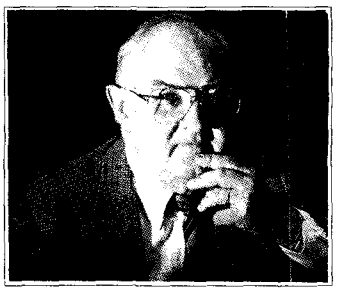
The Medical Triangle
Physicians, Politicians, and the Public
Eli Ginzberg

"This is a valuable book that covers a wide range of critical health issues from the perspective of one of America's premier health policy thinkers."
—*New England Journal of Medicine*

"If anyone can make sense of the mammoth American health system and explain it to a layperson, it is Eli Ginzberg...[Here he] debunks the many myths and contradictions that so often distort the public debate on health policy."
—*New York Times Book Review*

$14.95 paper

The New Medicine and the Old Ethics
Albert R. Jonsen



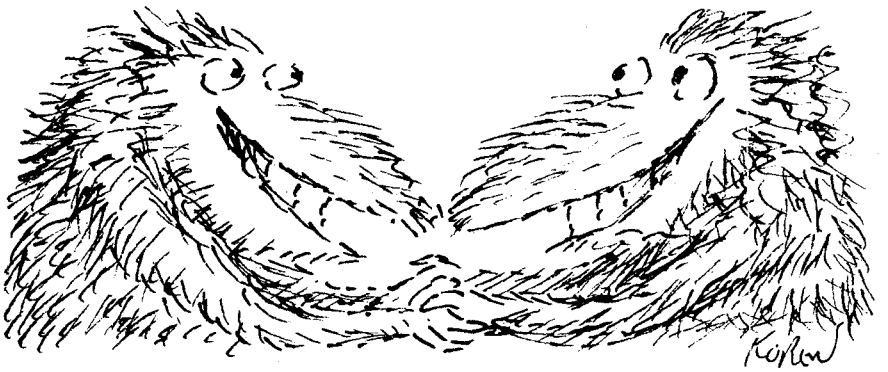
"[A] short, interesting, provocative book...in which one of medicine's most learned, perceptive, and friendly observers attempts a three-dimensional look at a profession under strain, placing it in a historical context as he describes its central ethical tensions."
—*Journal of the American Medical Association*

"This elegant essay is a delight to read, full of illuminating anecdote and scholarly reference." —*Times Higher Education Supplement*

$9.95 paper

Harvard University Press
Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2480

GET PERSONAL WITH
The Nation.



Double your fun for half the price with a **PERSONALS** ad in the Classified section of America's oldest newsweekly. Get two ads for the price of one, four for the price of two and so on.

Nation readers are **PERSONALS** readers, interested in politics, literature, film, theater, dance, music and art. And they're waiting to read your ad. So to meet new people and make new music, just accept our invitation to **GET PERSONAL WITH THE NATION!** See the coupon in the Classified section for details.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gars. So he lights up, takes out a book, rereads his fading *billets*, sighs over a lost love, plays a melancholy air on his flute, pours himself a tot of curaçao and toddles off to his lonely bed and reveries. These are objects of a muted, middle-aged hedonism. But there is also more to them than that, one feels: There is something slightly uncanny, for which the great skill is a sort of metaphor.

Baudrillard draws to our attention what he terms the "highly ritualized" aspect of *trompe l'oeil*, which he explains as due to the fact that this curious genre is derived from metaphysics more than from painting. The ritualism can be confirmed by observing that it is always the same sort of object, the same letter rack, for example, that appears in these works down the centuries, and this cannot be entirely due to the effort to inhibit parallax. The catalogue strives to connect Harnett's objects to the American context, but in truth his letter-rack paintings draw on conventions that go back to the seventeenth century, at least. The Dutch artists Edwaert Collyer, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Cornelius Gysbrechts and Wallerant Vaillant did a brisk trade in letter racks altogether like the paintings Harnett did. The famous Studiolo in the Ducal Palace of Urbino, a virtuoso exercise in intarsia, has musical instruments and much the same sorts of volumes we find in Harnett, whose books have tattered bindings and illegible titles. They are in fact the "quaint and curious volume[s] of forgotten lore" the narrator of "The Raven" pores over in seeking an answer to the question of loss and the meaning of life. The musical instruments always imply Pythagorean harmonies. Occasionally an instrument such as an antique revolver is hung in such a way as to draw attention to its mysteriousness, the way objects in a glass by Joseph Cornell do: There is a mystery in a playing card, even a matchstick, when illuminated and isolated. In his late works Harnett arranged his objects with extreme artifice, as if spelling out a secret to be decoded.

The paintings finally convey a spirit of wonder, and of magic. The interior space they imply is the *Wunderkammer*, in which they belong. There is such a space, even with the same letter rack, in Dürer's depiction of Saint Jerome. It is the enclave of the sorcerer and the Faust. *Trompe l'oeil* belongs less to the history of painting than of arcane curiosity. The aura is not the aura of art but of something mysterious, occult, powerful and possibly forbidden. □

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENTS

SUNNY BROOKLYN SHARE: Park Slope, nice wood floors, eat-in kitchen with new oven, your own bedroom. Convenient to subway and stores, possible lease takeover. No smoking, available immediately, $400/month. (718) 638-5964.

UNDERPAID, quiet and responsible interns seek low-rent apartment share, sublet or house-sitting arrangements anywhere in New York City starting right away. Call Peter Rothberg at *The Nation*, (212) 242-8400.

AUDIOCASSETTES

A CONVERSATION WITH I.F. STONE AT 80

Tapes of this unique Nation Institute/New School event are now available. Each 2-tape set is $20. Send check or money order payable to The Nation Institute to: "Stone Tapes," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

"HOLLYWOOD & HISTORY: THE DEBATE OVER *JFK*"—Audio tapes of the provocative Town Hall event with Oliver Stone, Norman Mailer, Nora Ephron and Edward Jay Epstein are now available. Each 2 tape set is $20. To order, send check or money order payable to The Nation Institute to: "Hollywood & History," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

THE SUPREME COURT AND DAILY LIFE
WHO WILL THE COURT PROTECT IN THE 1990S?

The Nation Institute presents its historic conference of October 21, 1989, and examines the changing relationship of the Supreme Court to civil rights and personal liberties in light of recent Court decisions.

Reproductive and sexual freedom, race and gender discrimination, criminal defense rights, and a broad historical examination of the Supreme Court are some of the topics covered.

Speakers include DENISE CARTY-BENNIA, HAYWOOD BURNS, RHONDA COPELON, ARTHUR KINOY, WILLIAM KUNSTLER, TOM STODDARD, and others.

This 4-part radio series, produced in cooperation with The New School, the New York Council for the Humanities, and WBAI-FM, is available on 2 cassettes for $25 from The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

GORE VIDAL'S complete "State of the Union" speech, delivered June 30,1990, at *The Nation*'s 125th birthday bash in Berkeley, is now available on audio cassette. Nation Associates may purchase tapes for $10 each; the cost to all others is $15. Price includes postage and handling. Send your order to: The Nation Associates, Gore Vidal Tape, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

CULTURE WARS: Challenges to commercial free speech. A cassette of this Nation Institute/Playboy Foundation event examining attempts to limit access to images and ideas is available for $15. Featured panelists are Howard Bell, Ron Silver, Skipp Porteous, Nadine Stroessen, Kurt Loder and Christie Hefner. Send a check or money order to: "Culture Wars," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

AUDIOCASSETTES

EDWARD SAID/MERON BENVENISTI. Two Views of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. Tapes of this *Nation*/New School event are now available. Each 2-tape set is $20. Send check or money order payable to The Nation Institute to: "Two Views," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

BED & BREAKFAST

LOS ANGELES near Hollywood. Garden setting. Close to tennis, golf. Children welcome. Pipey & Shank's. Reasonable. (213) 664-4425.

CHICAGO: Nicely furnished apartment, 34th floor, Lake & Loop view. Balcony, pool, exercise room. $450 per week. (616) 469-1416.

BOOKLETS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $5 to Abelard Reuchlin Foundation, Box 5652-B, Kent WA 98064. For details please send SASE

BOOKS

ANARCHIST COOKBOOK available again! $22, postpaid. Complete edition. Barricade Books, Box 1401-R, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED, all types. Company with 70-year tradition. "Author's Guide to Subsidy Publishing." 1-800-695-9599.

A COMING-OF-AGE CEREMONY FOR THE '90s

"BOY INTO MAN: A Father's Guide to Initiation of Teenage Sons," by Bernard Weiner. $9.95, plus $2 tax/shipping. Transformation Press, 197 Bonview Street, San Francisco, CA 94110.

SPECIAL BOOK DISCOUNT
while supply lasts

FATE OF THE FOREST: DEVELOPERS, DESTROYERS AND DEFENDERS OF THE AMAZON, by Susanna Hecht and Alexander Cockburn. Retail: $24.95. Available to *Nation* subscribers for $15, and to Nation Associates for $12.

THE M.D.: A HORROR STORY, by Thomas M. Disch. Retail: $22. *Nation* subscribers: $15; Nation Associates: $12. *Please add $2/book for shipping and handling.* New York State residents add sales tax.

Send orders to: The Nation Associates, Book Offer, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

SOLVING CIPHER PROBLEMS by Frank W. Lewis, *Nation* crossword puzzle setter—$28.80 postpaid. Hours of enjoyment analyzing and solving secret messages. Free catalog describing other books. VISA and MASTERCARD orders accepted; provide expiration date. Aegean Park Press, P.O. Box 2837, Laguna Hills, CA 92654. (800) 736-3587.

MARIJUANA GROWER'S GUIDE. 330 pages, 170 b&w, 50 color photographs. "Extremely clear and interesting"—NY TIMES. Send $22.45 to: Red Eye Press, P.O. Box 65751, Los Angeles, CA 90065. Catalog: SASE.

END OF THE CUBAN CONNECTION, Havana, 448 pp. $9.95. Fred Hoffman, P.O. Box 26642, Los Angeles, CA 90026.

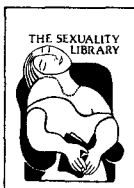
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK SEARCH SERVICES

AWAITING YOUR BOOK WANTS. Lorraine Zimmerman, Bookseller. P.O. Box 867, Silverado, CA 92676. (714) 649-2690; (800) 728-2073.

Wm CAXTON BOOKSEARCH. Ellison Bay, WI 54210. Please send phone/address with wants. (414) 854-2955.

CATALOGUES



Over 350 books and videos about sex that won't insult your intelligence. From enlightening advice to electrifying erotica. Send $2 for catalog to:

TSL, 1210 Valencia #NT, San Francisco, CA 94110

COUNSELING

PSYCHOANALYTIC PSYCHOTHERAPIST, diversified clinical experience; compassionate, mature. Affordable fees. East midtown NYC: (212) 466-6775; Nassau: (516) 484-1249.

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 20+ years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic. Crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity. (212) 582-5508.

MINORITY MALE PSYCHOTHERAPIST (MSW), Professor at NYU—experienced, sensitive, liberal, adjustable fees, midtown Manhattan (Kips Bay). (212) 685-4918.

A FEMINIST, experienced and compassionate psychotherapist, CSW. Sliding scale fees. Convenient Queens location. Please call (718) 639-5969. Also, quality supervision is available to psychotherapists at reasonable rates.

EDUCATION

WORK WITH

STREET CHILDREN IN ANGOLA

12 months program includes volunteer work at school for street children in Luanda. Preparation and follow-up periods in the U.S.

Other programs in Mozambique, Nicaragua and Brazil

Institute for Int'l Cooperation & Development (IICD)
IICD, P.O. Box 103-B, Williamstown, MA 01267. (413) 458-9828.

SPANISH, TOURS, MINICOURSES. Summer in Cuernavaca. Escuela Azteca. Live with a Mexican family. Study with Professor Ross Gandy (*Marx and History, Mexico 1910-1982*). Spanish all levels, visual aids. Aztecs, Mayas, Juarez, Mexican Revolution. Tours of pyramids, revolutionary murals. $190 for each two weeks. Brochure. Write, call: Apdo. Postal 76-005; 04201 Mexico, D.F. (73) 15-24-69.

STUDY SPANISH IN RURAL MEXICO. Family living, weekend activities, workshops. Centro, Box 11891, Milwaukee, WI 53211. (414) 264-6909.

EDUCATION

Speak German like a Diplomat!®

Comprehensive, self-instructional audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning; 76 languages in all. Call or write for free catalog. **1-800-243-1234** Our 20th year.

AUDIO-FORUM® Dept.823, 96 Broad St. Guilford, CT 06437

SPANISH CLASSES, GUATEMALAN CULTURE. Nonprofit collective; speakers, field trips. Proyecto, Box 962, Byfield, MA 01922. (508) 463-3284.

SPANISH IN GUANAJUATO. Cultural Center of Mexico. Instituto Falcon, Mora 158, Guanajuato, GTO 36000, Mexico; call: (473) 2-36-94

LEARN SPANISH IN GUATEMALA, help the poor while you learn. One-on-one instruction, room and board with local family, work projects in nearby communities. (415) 868-1786.

Summit University of Louisiana, "An Assessment University." Evaluates all relevant personal & community learning * BA, MA, PhD, in all fields while employed * Awards credit for university and life learning * No residency or required courses * Year-round enrollment, Affordable fees, loans * 7508 Hayne Blvd., New Orleans, LA 70126, (504) 241-0227

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ECOLOGY: 1992 Summer Semester—Intensive Summer programs in: Sustainable Community Design and Architecture, Ecology and Community, Social Ecology and Higher Education, Women and Ecology. College credit and MA study option available. Mail-order book catalog and newsletter. For more information write: P.O. Box 89, Dept. A, Plainfield, VT 05667; or call: (802) 454-8493.

A Masters With Meaning

Finally—an M.A. program where you study what's important to you. Design your studies supported by expert faculty, schedule around work & family commitments, brief regional meetings. Earn your degree in 12-18 months. ACCREDITED. Low-residency B.A. also available. Vermont College of Norwich University, Box 750, Montpelier, VT 05602. Call 1-800-336-6794.

EVENTS

***Toward a New U.S. Foreign Policy:* Promoting Democracy and Social Justice at Home and Abroad**

Saturday, May 2, 9:30 am to 6 pm
New School, 65 Fifth Ave, NYC

9:30 a.m. Plenary
"Is There Hope for U.S. Foreign Policy"
Edward Said, Major Owens, Holly Burkhalter, Joanne Landy, Christopher Hitchens

2 p.m. Plenary
"A New Economic Order? Free Trade, Free Markets, and Democracy"
Adolfo Aguilar, Harley Shaiken, Kristin Dawkins, Maude Barlow, Dorie Wilsnack

Conference sponsored by Campaign for Peace & Democracy and Comm. on Liberal Studies, New School for Social Research, Free, For info call (212)666-5924

EVENTS

A MAY DAY LECTURE
by
Paul Sweezy, co-editor, *Monthly Review*
on "Recession and Depression"
Friday, May 1, 8 pm
University of District of Columbia
4200 Conn. Ave., NW, Washington, DC (Van Ness Stop, Red Line)
Room 204, Science and Technology Bldg. Call: (301) 495-9649

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES! Book 6 of these British-style crosswords, $6.95 postpaid. Write E.S. Lewis, 125 Quaker Lane, Rochester, MA 02770.

MERCHANDISE

RUSSIAN TYPEWRITERS. $175. New Olympia-Unis. Also others. Jacob Sachs, 251 West 98th Street, New York, NY 10025. (212) 222-6683.

GEORGE BUSH . . . GO TO YOUR ROOM/WOMAN POWER. 2½" buttons: $2.50. Box 73, Woodstock, NY 12498.

DON'T CRY UNCLE—WEAR HIM ON YOUR BACK! Wear the *Nation* T-shirt. These high-quality, gray cotton shirts are printed in black with "The Nation" on the front and Edward Sorel's Uncle Sam on the back. S, M, L and XL. They are only $11.95 each, postpaid. Or for an even better deal, get 3 or more shirts for $9.95 each. Mail check or money order in U.S. currency to: The Nation, T-Shirts, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add 33%.)

MISCELLANEOUS

HELP! Money urgently needed to send poor, leftist student to private liberal arts college. Justin, 3057 NW Greenbriar, Corvallis, OR 97330.

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

IF YOU'D LIKE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS with other *Nation* readers in the South Bay of Los Angeles, join the monthly discussion groups—Sundays, 3:30-5:00. Call: (213) 379-0426.

ALBANY-AREA *Nation* readers are invited to join a Nation Associate discussion group. For information about the next meeting, call (518) 439-5240.

IF YOU'D LIKE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS with other *Nation* readers in Eugene, Oregon, consider forming a local monthly discussion group. Call: (503) 688-0241.

PERSONALS

PERSONALS ADVERTISERS

A Nation Box number and weekly forwarding service is available for a one-time $15 charge added to the cost of your classified ad.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER
links compatible singles who care about peace, social justice, and the environment
National and international membership.
All ages. Since 1984. Free sample:
Box 555-A, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

PERSONALS

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE®. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. 1-800-233-CMLS. Box 31, Pelham, NY 10803.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS gets cultured singles acquainted. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write: SBL, Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039, or call: (215) 358-5049.

NYC CIVIL RIGHTS LAWYER—SJW, 33; attractive, vibrant, sensitive, socially conscious. Loves NYC culture, country adventures, travel, warm times with good friends. Seeks playful, political, communicative M, 28-45, with great sense of humor for friendship, romance, commitment. Descriptive note/photo appreciated. Nation Box 878.

ECLECTIC IOWA MAN, 41, thinker, tinker, musician, programmer, activist; seeks love, family, balance. Photo appreciated. Nation Box 879.

MALE, 61, with opposable thumbs, seeks female similarly constructed. Nation Box 880.

PRETTY WRITER: 38, blonde, sexy, articulate and married. Looking for a little affection and romance. Chicago-Milwaukee area. Photo appreciated. Nation Box 881.

DWM, YOUNG EARLY-50S; longtime Marxist. Self-employed; attractive, athletic, healthy; kind, warm, considerate, funny/serious; likes theatre, literature, walking, film, travel. Is there a warm, gentle thirtysomething single/single mother out there who seeks support, comfort, experience, understanding of older man? Love kids, yearn to be first-time father. Northern NE-NY preferred, not essential. Photo appreciated, reciprocated. Nation Box 883.

EUROPEAN WOMAN (petite) with humanistic values, kindergarten teacher, looking for soulmate around 40 for committed relationship. Loves music from Chopin to Abdullah Ibrahim, singing in Chorale as well as dancing blues, hiking . . . . Reads Bettelheim, Alice Miller, M. Mathabane, R. Wright. NYC. Photo please. Nation Box 884.

LEFTISH SOONER wants to correspond with *Nation* groupies (particularly in OK/NoTEX). Written discussion network? 1508 NW 16, Lawton, OK 73507.

PERSONALS

NYM, 46, FOLK, rhythm 'n blues singer; literate, fit, really bright, sweet, pessimistic, irreverent, untamed, full of fun seeks beguiling woman with wit, charm and rhythm. Photo please. Nation Box 882.

If responding to a Nation Box number send replies to: Nation Box _____, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

HOME TYPISTS, PC users needed. $35,000 potential. Details. Call (1) 805-962-8000, Ext. B-3596.

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. A unique monthly publication with more than 200 new job listings each issue. Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of nonprofit organizations and entrepreneurs. Call for free information: (617) 720-5627; or write:ACCESS, 50 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108.

Executive Director - Palestine Solidarity Committee, a nat'l. grassroots org. working for Palestinian self-determination is seeking Exec. Dir. to work in NYC office. Experience in fundraising, public speaking, networking with other nat'l. organizations and writing skills. Sal. commensurate with experience. Send resume and cover letter by May 1 to: PSC, P.O. Box 372, Peck Slip Station, NY, NY 10272

EXECUTIVE EDITOR to lead innovative radical journal into the 1990s. Challenging half-time position. Musts: strong editorial experience, extensive knowledge of radical politics, creativity, vision, ability to work collectively. Pluses: solid fundraising, promotional or design experience. Salary: $11,000 plus benefits. Send résumé, letter, writing sample to: Socialist Review, 2940 16th Street, Suite 102, San Francisco, CA 94110.

THE NATION seeks a new member of the Nation Associates staff. The position entails fundraising, donor base management, writing, event organizing and special projects. Applicants must be detail oriented and have good communication skills. Computer background (dBase III, Lotus and Wordperfect) and knowledge of magazine strongly preferred. Send letter and résumé to: Box 101, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

POSITIONS DESIRED

INTELLIGENT, ARTICULATE FORMER *NATION* INTERNS skilled in research, fact-checking, editing and writing looking for meaningful employment in New York, Washington and elsewhere. Available starting immediately. Call Peter Meyer at (212) 242-8400.

AGGRESSIVE YOUNG REPORTER at New York weekly newspaper, with *Nation* editing experience, seeks position at small to midsize daily anywhere in the United States. Clips and references on request. Call Anne-Marie Otey, (718) 789-5231.

PUBLICATIONS

THE PEOPLE. Marxist biweekly. Since 1891. 4 months/$1. 1 year/$4. The People (N), PO Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

LEFT BUSINESS OBSERVER—a monthly newsletter on economics and politics worldwide. "A salutary antidote to the economic mush in mainstream periodicals." — Alexander Cockburn. One year $20. Left Business Observer (Dept. N), 250 West 85th Street, New York, NY 10024.

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $3 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

CUBA AT YOUR DOORSTEP. Latest in Cuban books, magazines, music and videocassettes, graphics and posters now available through direct importer and sent by U.S. mail. Write: Publications Exchange, 8306 Mills Drive, #241N, Miami, FL 33183, for catalogs; or call: (305) 256-0162.

SEEKING PENFRIENDS? World Contact magazine features listings from hundreds of people worldwide. No club fees! Free listing! Current issue—$4.50. World Contact, Box 355C, Neffs, PA 18065-0355.

¡Viva!
Barricada Internacional
Monthly news summary and analysis from Nicaragua. Sample free!
Now thru July 19, 1992, $24.50/year.
Barricada USA-N, PO Box 410150 SF, CA 94141

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1 (U repair). Delinquent tax property. Repossessions. Your area (1) 805-962-8000 Ext. GH-3596 for current repo list.

SERVICES

EXPERT HOUSEPAINTER—and socially conscious, too. Prompt, neat, reasonable rates. Airless sprayer for large spaces. 10 years experience. References. Free estimate. Call and leave message: (718) 789-1944.

25 MILLION USA HISPANICS would like to read you in Spanish. Pablo. Writer, translator. (310) 475-3886.

TRAVEL

FLY CHEAP!

TRAVEL UNLIMITED

is the one and only monthly update of current worldwide courier flight information for the impulsive vagabond or travel sophisto.

TRAVEL UNLIMITED

provides you with the most current listings of cities and fares available as an air courier. Recent examples: Hong Kong: $450 r/t, Amsterdam: $199 r/t, Buenos Aires: $500 r/t, and many others.

Send a $25 ($35 foreign) check or money order to:

TRAVEL UNLIMITED
P.O. Box 1058, Allston, MA 02134-1058

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates STANDARD $1.75/word, 15-word minimum. CLASSIFIED DISPLAY 1-inch minimum; camera-ready $70/column inch; not camera-ready $70/column inch plus a one-time setting charge of $20/inch. FREQUENCY DISCOUNTS For consecutive runs only; 4 ads for the price of 3; 10 for the price of 7; 25 for the price of 15, 52 for the price of 26. PERSONALS For individuals 2 ads for the price of 1, 4 for the price of 2, etc.; no other discounts apply; *Nation* box number/weekly forwarding service one-time charge of $15; for commercial advertisers standard rates apply.

Deadline Wednesday, 4 PM, 26 days prior to Monday issue date.

To THE NATION
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for _____ week(s), plus _____ week(s) free.

Be sure to include payment for *Nation* box number/forwarding service or classified display setting charge, if applicable.

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

Payment in U.S. currency must accompany order.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRAVEL

EUROPE—$160! from East Coast, $269! from West Coast. Hitch a ride on a commercial jet! Confirmed seats from all locations at higher rates. AIRHITCH®, (212) 864-2000.

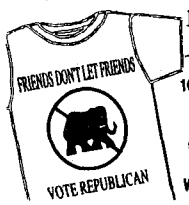
INTERNATIONAL RESOURCE GUIDES. Practical information on everything from the best deals on airfare to teaching overseas. For FREE catalog send S.A.S.E. to: TAAS, P.O. Box 344-3876, Amherst, MA 01004.

ENGLISH CANALS. Left historian-skipper. Small party, no schedule. $595 weekly, inclusive. Box 2083, Springfield, MA 01101. Telephone: (413) 562-9296.

T-SHIRTS

DON'T CRY UNCLE!
WEAR HIM ON YOUR BACK!

Wear the *Nation* T-shirt. These high-quality, gray cotton shirts are printed in black with "The Nation" on the front and Edward Sorel's Uncle Sam on the back. S, M, L and XL. They are only $11.95 each, postpaid. Or for an even better deal, get 3 or more shirts for $9.95 each. Mail check or money order in U.S. currency to: The Nation, T-Shirts, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax. Foreign orders add 33%.)



Friends Don't Let Friends Vote Republican
Blue and Red Lettering on White
100% Cotton Hanes® Beefy T-Shirt, M-L-XL
$15.00 - $2.50 Shipping
Bumper Sticker $2.00, Shipping Included
Check/M.O. to JONART Productions
1718 M St. NW, Suite 183
Washington, DC 20036- (202) 310-1732

VACATION RENTALS

GUEST SUITE in tranquil location above still-aesthetic colonial city of Guanajuato, available to writer, artist, language student. Apartado 399, Guanajuato, Gto., Mexico.

SAG HARBOR VILLAGE waterfront cottage—3 bedrooms, 2 baths. Deck, private, beautiful sunsets. $15,000/Season (Memorial—Labor Day. (516) 725-2036.

PENNSYLVANIA STONE HOUSE. 80 acres. 1½ hours from Manhattan. 4 baths. Piano, swimming, hiking. $2,500/September. (203) 637-4064.

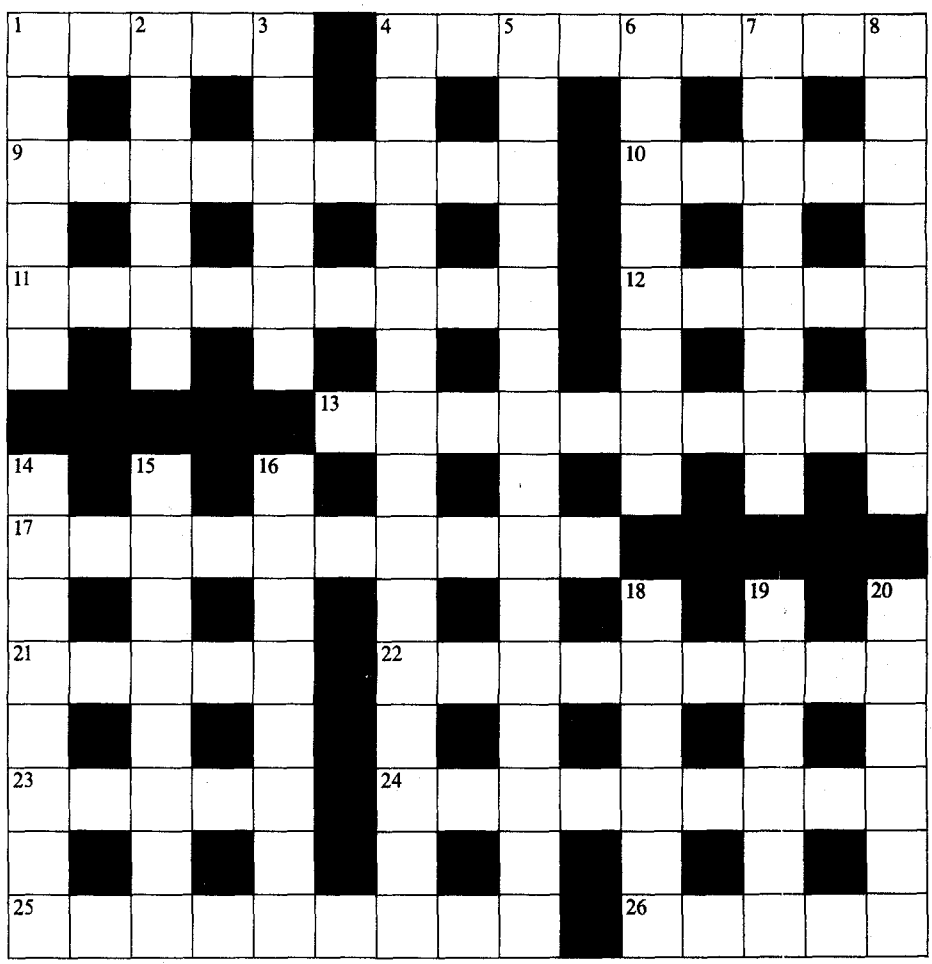
ADVERTISE IN THE NATION
CALL (212) 242-8400

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2380

A	T	M	O	S	P	H	E	R	E	■	F	U	N	D
S	■	U	■	I	■	E	■	O	■	S	■	N	■	I
H	O	S	A	N	N	A	■	P	I	P	E	D	U	P
E	■	I	■	A	■	D	■	E	■	E	■	O	■	L
■	A	C	H	I	L	L	E	S	■	C	A	I	R	O
A	■	A	■	■	■	I	■	■	■	T	■	N	■	M
P	O	L	E	S	■	N	I	C	A	R	A	G	U	A
O	■	■	■	C	■	E	■	A	■	U	■	■	■	T
P	U	R	C	H	A	S	E	R	■	M	A	O	R	I
L	■	E	■	O	■	■	■	B	■	■	■	B	■	C
E	X	P	E	L	■	B	L	U	E	F	I	S	H	■
C	■	A	■	A	■	I	■	N	■	U	■	E	■	A
T	A	V	E	R	N	S	■	C	O	N	T	R	O	L
I	■	E	■	S	■	O	■	L	■	G	■	V	■	L
C	A	S	H	■	O	N	D	E	L	I	V	E	R	Y

Crossword Puzzle No. 2381

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Possibly *Hair* produced by a school in Massachusetts. (5)
4 What a football team might do in the annual draft, as a way to carry someone. (9)
9 A first principle may be, when a wriggling eel gets rather intellectual. (9)
10 See 2 down
11 A cardinal beginning would be "get wealthy, to a point" in place of the end. (9)
12 Some people might have elected to have done so. (5)
13 One might come from a place associated with hats, and put down a person with a Scottish name. (10)
17 Once caring, perhaps, it could be one of the things that causes serious illness. (10)
21 Some get it confused about a sign of softness, with which magnesium sulphate might have been associated. (5)
22 Had the courage to take on wickedness, being the foolhardy type. (9)
23 Being a little firm, came up with a heavenly body. (5)
24 A race problem one might have to get over. (9)
25 Shiners? Perfect hell! They might be raised in summer. (9)
26 A battleship used to be nought to this. (5)

DOWN

1 Crude ore found in your old sort of ideas about something. (6)
2 and 10 Quitter? (One doesn't have permission to take it.) (6,5)
3 What might be put into the meat is a little more out of line! (6)
4 One does, if the answer herein is correct. (And it might help you get a job, if one does.) (4,2,1,4,4)
5 What the actuary did for the insurance company might be taken by gamblers. (10,5)
6 It might describe a deposit of everything high in society, taking a small bottle. (8)
7 Who had a bat to irregularly show it? Slaughter here, probably. (8)
8 Wanting, one hears, to be doing it to make bread. (8)
14 Arts are scholastically associated with them, but make a bad scene (*sic*)! (8)
15 One might be sent in for the exhausted player, as a first class type. (8)
16 It might not look right if you do your socks so as to lose out in seeing part of Wimbledon, by the sound of it. (8)
18 Declared war, doubtlessly, to make a name therein. (6)
19 Let's get it straight about the day of victory—some women still like to be so described! (6)
20 When the shop is, it doesn't necessarily mean they don't hope to do a lot of business. (6)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

People's Video presents
audio and videotapes of

Talks by Michael Parenti

Author of

- **Inventing Reality:** The Politics of the Mass Media
- **Power and the Powerless**
- **Democracy for the Few** (Fifth Edition)
- **The Sword and the Dollar:** Imperialism, Revolution and the Arms Race
- **Make-Believe Media:** The Politics of Entertainment

No. 2 Inventing Reality. Monopoly ownership of media and ideological distortion of news.

No. 3 Monopoly Culture and Academic Freedom. The class basis of our "independent" cultural, legal and educational institutions.

No. 4 The Political Uses of Religion. How the Right uses religion to manipulate people; contains kind words about liberation theology.

No. 5 Democracy and US Intervention. Differences between a Marxist and liberal analysis of political life and the myth of "national security."

No. 6 Superpatriotism and the Importance of Being Number One. "Superpatriotism" as an expression of militarism, used to manipulate public support and suppress dissent. Contrasted to real patriotism. (audio only)

No. 7 The Sword and the Dollar. The history of imperialism and the forced maldevelopment of the Third World.

No. 9 Rambo and the Swarthy Hordes. Political images of the entertainment media, including imperialistic and racist themes.

No. 10 Democracy and Popular Struggle. The dynamic interplay of political and economic democracy, with attention given to class, race, and women's rights.

No. 11 Marxism and Eastern Europe. The relevance of Marxism and the collapse of Communism as a result of external attacks and internal faults. (audio only)

No. 12 Human Nature and Politics. Political dimensions of: "What is human nature?" A critique of the conservative concepts.

No. 13 Imperialism and the Bush Hypocrisy. A critique of Bush's foreign and domestic policies including the invasion of Panama.

No. 14 Real History. Critiques of false history: (1) The Real "Founding Fathers" (2) Against Psychohistory (3) Fascism and Nazism: Who Benefited? (4) The Real Causes of World War II (5) American Empire and the Spanish-American War. (audio only—two tapes sold as a set)

No. 15 Imperialism, Drugs, and Social Control. The link between U.S. intervention and the CIA's use of drugs abroad and at home.

No. 16 Interview with David Barsamian. The Middle East crisis, Eastern Europe, and various other subjects; **Hidden Forms of Censorship in America.** In media news, political research, Hollywood films, and television. (audio only—both on one tape)

No. 17 Crimes of Empire: Bush's War in the Middle East. The excuses given for intervention in the Gulf and the real underlying reasons.

No. 18 TV Interview: Corporatism and the U.S. Political Scene and **Media Distortion of the Gulf War.** (both on one tape)

No. 19 Democratic Government vs. The State. The dangers of executive power and state conspiracy.

No. 20 Voodoo Economics and Class Warfare. How government for the rich produces oppressive taxes, a huge debt and economic recession.

To Order Books

Inventing Reality & The Sword and the Dollar
($16.95 US / 19.40 CAN)
All others ($19.95 US / 22.95 CAN)
plus $2 postage

Check or money order payable to:
International Book Shop
1406 Obispo Ave., #8
Long Beach, CA 90804, tel: (213) 494-1694
Canadian $ accepted.

To Order Tapes

Audio Tapes $4 US / 4.60 CAN
(No. 14 only: $8 US / 9.20 CAN)
Videotapes, $12 US / 13.70 CAN
Postage is included
Prices are non-profit. All labor is donated.

Check or money order payable to:
People's Video, P.O. Box 99514
Seattle, WA 98199, tel: (206) 789-5371
Canadian $ accepted. Donations welcome.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED